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Born May 10, 1867; became Chief Justice of California in 1922; resigned that position on his appointment by President Coolidge as Secretary of the Navy, March 19, 1924



CURRENT HISTORY

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A Condemnation of United States Naval Policy

By WILLIAM H. KING
United States Senator from Utah

THE American Navy is as old as the Constitution. But all the experiences of the Government, in peace as well as in war, have not developed a definite naval policy. Without a definite naval policy naval development cannot be sound and consistent. One thing certain about the navy is that it has been associated in the public mind as essential to the defense of the country. Another thing certain is that Congress has been liberal, not to say lavish, in the appropriation of public money to support the naval establishment. This money has been freely spent. We have navy yards, drydocks and naval stations at nearly every port on our seaboard. These ports have all been represented in Congress. There have frequently been members of the naval committees of the two houses of Congress who were greatly concerned in securing naval appropriations for expenditure on their favorite ports. The result of this practice has been that our naval policy, or lack of policy, has been largely a compromise of provincial views and interests, intent upon obtaining the largest possible amount of Government money for expenditure within

their respective localities. Elaborate yards and docks have been built up which may be approached only through channels which are too narrow and too shallow for the navigation of modern men-of-war. These channels require constant dredging at great expense to keep them open.

But this is only the beginning of the misdirection of naval appropriations. We have had with us the professional naval contractor and subcontractor; the armor-plate maker, the naval ship-builder and the naval machinery manufacturer, who have erected their plants with the intention of running them on contracts for naval construction, have lobbied through appropriations and have often foisted upon the Government their own schemes for the multiplication of naval craft. This has often been done on a "quantity production" basis, the result of which has been to furnish us with a navy of awkward, monotonous types, without distinctive design, impressiveness or effectiveness. Catering to the political navy yard and the professional navy contractor has been a prolific cause of the waste of naval appropriations, and of the build-

ing up of useless yards and docks and the assembling of large numbers of de-commissioned naval craft.

We have in the naval establishment eighteen battleships and twenty-nine drydocks. We have recently acquired ten new 7,500-ton scout cruisers. These cruisers, although constructed since the war, were built by private contractors who turned out our "quantity production" standardized destroyers. These cruisers, in type at least, are merely magnified destroyers. They show no originality or improvement of design and will be outclassed by the new vessels of this type being laid down by Great Britain. We have enough drydocks to put our entire battleship and cruiser fleet in dock at one time, however short we may be of ships.

In the last ten years the Government has expended \$150,000,000 for submarines. Practically the whole of this money has gone into the hands of private contractors, who have delivered to the Government about 120 submarines. At least ten of these submarines, because of defective mechanism, have gotten beyond the control of their crews and have sunk, in most cases causing the death of members of the crews. The 1916 naval building program authorized nine fleet submarines. Only three of these have been delivered, T-1, T-2 and T-3. They were constructed by a private contractor and were found so defective as to be unserviceable. Although we have no fleet submarines the Navy Department did not dare retain these submarines in commission. The Chief of Naval Operations in his report for 1923 said: "The performance of the three fleet submarines T-1, T-2 and T-3 was of such inferior character as to make it inadvisable to retain them in commission longer."

The Chief of Naval Operations, referring (in his report for 1923) to the fifty S-boats, the latest instalment and the newest type of coast submarines, said:

Work was started on the remaining of the Electric Boat Company's S-boats, with the result that they are now being completed and

commissioned at the rate of about two a month. It is expected that the last of these three S-submarines will be commissioned before the end of the next fiscal year. The S-boat program was inaugurated in 1917. It is a sad commentary on shipbuilding facilities in the United States when it takes seven years to complete fifty submarines and then have the majority of them unsatisfactory.

During all this time the navy yards were deteriorating and their expert personnel was being dispersed because of the lack of work. If the Navy Department had built these submarines in the navy yards the department would have been responsible for the design, the engineering, the construction and the effective functioning of these under-water craft, and proven mistakes would not have been multiplied scores of times, as has been done by these private contractors, who were evidently more intent upon profits than they were upon the production of mechanically effective submarine boats.

Within the last four years the destroyers Delong, Eagle, Delphy, S. P. Lee, Young, Woodbury, Nicholas, Chauncey and Fuller were run aground and lost, and the destroyers Graham, Feilen and McFarland were rammed, which makes a total of twelve of these light, easily manoeuvred craft which have been lost by careless navigation. Last year explosions on the battleship Mississippi and upon the cruiser Trenton resulted in the death of sixty men, as well as in material damage to these ships. All these casualties, misadventures and cases of faulty construction have occurred since the war and in spite of the experience gained in the war.

The 1916 naval building program called for the construction of ten battleships, six battle cruisers, ten scout cruisers, fifty torpedo-boat destroyers, nine fleet submarines and fifty-eight coast submarines, as well as of a number of auxiliary craft. Only three of the battleships in this program, the Maryland, Colorado and West Virginia, were completed. The Washington, nearly completed, was sunk, and the remaining six battleships were scrapped. Of the six battle cruisers, four were scrapped. The



Wide World Photos

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Lexington and Saratoga, the remaining two projected battle cruisers, are being converted into airplane carriers. These two vessels on present calculations will cost \$92,000,000 for their completion, but it is safe to predict that their construction and equipment will cost, if not exceed, \$100,000,000. The last of the ten scout cruisers have just been commissioned.

The completed submarines, as already noted, have proven unsatisfactory. The three fleet submarines delivered by a private contractor have been decommissioned and condemned as ineffective, and three others are now in the course of construction in the navy yard at Portsmouth, N. H. One of these submarines, the V-1, has been commissioned. This vessel, however, is not completed and has not been submerged.

On the 1916 program, as modified, more than treble the original estimates of the total cost was spent and all the Government will get out of it is three battleships, two airplane carriers, ten scout cruisers, 288 standardized destroy-

ers and an indifferent and useless lot of submarines. The actual Government outlay on the principal items of the 1916 program, as modified by subsequent legislation and not including the cost of auxiliary vessels, may be stated as follows:

Three battleships, Maryland, Colorado and West Virginia, completed, approximately.....	\$75,000,000
Ten scout cruisers, Omaha, Milwaukee, Richmond, Detroit, Concord, Cincinnati, Raleigh, Trenton, Marblehead and Memphis, completed.....	88,349,414.32
Two airplane carriers, Saratoga and Lexington.....	92,000,000.00
120 submarines.....	150,000,000.00
288 destroyers.....	462,249,300.43
Seven battleships, Washington, South Dakota, North Carolina, Indiana, Montana, Iowa and Massachusetts (scrapped)	72,686,329.42
Four battle cruisers, Constellation, Constitution, United States, Ranger (scrapped)...	25,946,324.07
Total	\$966,231,368.24

The outlays authorized by Congress for increase in the navy, which covers new construction, have in the last ten years amounted to \$1,572,311,266. The total naval appropriations for the last decade amount to \$6,980,641,947.

Notwithstanding the tremendous outlays for construction alone made in the last ten years, the navy of the United States, from a practical viewpoint, consists today of eighteen battleships, three aircraft carriers (including the Saratoga and Lexington, not yet completed), ten light cruisers (not including eight obsolete cruisers), 103 destroyers in commission, six mine-layers and miscellaneous submarines and auxiliary craft. A review of the naval establishment impels one to the conclusion that conditions are chaotic, and that for the future a definite policy should be projected and consistently adhered to. A small navy, well manned and maintained in an effective condition, would be better for the country than a scattered and miscellaneous lot of craft of no imme-

diate utility and without an effective complement of well-trained personnel.

The question presents itself as to what shall be the naval policy of the United States. If we could settle upon the proper objective for American naval policy, we could better formulate such policy. In doing this we cannot well ignore the naval policies and projects of Great Britain and of Japan. It is Great Britain whose naval policy we must consider as potentially affecting the defense of our Atlantic seaboard and our trade routes in the Atlantic Ocean. It is Japan whose naval policy we must consider as potentially affecting the defense of our Pacific Coast and our trade routes in the Pacific Ocean.

NO THREAT FROM BRITISH FLEET

Great Britain has a definite objective in her naval policy. She is under an imperative necessity to protect her over-sea communications. For this purpose she must maintain a navy powerful enough to overcome any combination of hostile fleets which may be assembled against her in the North Sea, the English Channel or the Mediterranean. The British have for centuries been face to face with potential alliances of Continental powers who might combine their fleets to destroy British naval and commercial shipping, to blockade the British ports and invade the island. The British have had no designs for the conquest of any of the Continental countries, but Spain, France, Holland, Denmark and Germany have challenged British maritime independence and have built fleets with the intent to destroy the British position. It is a historical fact that the natives of Spain, France, Holland, Denmark and Germany have succumbed to British naval superiority. The problem of the British has been to maintain a fleet on a two-power standard, which has meant a fleet able to encounter successfully a combination of the fleets of any two hostile Continental powers. To the solution of this problem the British have brought centuries of naval experience and cumulative science in naval architecture and in the

art of naval construction. The Continental nations, many of whom have extensive maritime commerce, have not, on the other hand, within a hundred years had any occasion to believe that the British naval power would be exerted for arbitrary or unlawful interference with their overseas commerce. No Continental country has suffered any curtailment of its commerce because of the absence of a naval fleet. Portugal, Spain, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Italy and Greece have long since learned this truth and have looked upon the British fleet as the protector rather than the potential destroyer of their overseas commerce. Germany alone undertook to challenge the British position and Germany has suffered the consequences of her folly and has learned her lesson.

The British have never, at least since 1812, had it in mind to build up a fleet against the United States. The British naval program has not been affected by American naval policy. Responsible British naval officers frankly say that inasmuch as the United States has the greatest wealth in the world we may have the greatest naval establishment in the world if we have the will to do so. The mere challenging of British prestige on the seas, which might come from the building up and maintenance of a superior American fleet, would not be an adequate cause to impel the British to lay out unprecedented sums of money solely in order to outstrip the United States in the number, variety and tonnage of naval craft. The British Government has in a treaty agreed to subject the British Navy to the same limitations regarding tonnage of battleships as are to be imposed upon the American Navy. By this treaty they agreed that the American Navy may be equal to the British Navy in the tonnage of capital ships and in the armament which they carry. If the British fleet is superior to the American fleet, it is because the British excel us in naval design, in naval construction and in naval personnel. The British do not go in for quantity production of craft of certain descriptions.

British naval policy is not formulated for the benefit of contractors, but for the benefit of the realm. This is why the British Navy, as many naval experts contend, ton for ton and gun for gun, is the most effective navy in the world. Yet the British Navy does not in any wise challenge American interests or American rights. We are, therefore, under no necessity to build against the British or to enter into competitive naval construction as against them. American naval policy must rest upon some other motive and basis.

JAPAN'S NAVY FOR HOME DEFENSE

The Japanese also have a naval policy which is directed toward a definite objective, the limitations of which have made it possible for the Japanese to build up a navy accommodated to their special needs as they see them. Notwithstanding the misgivings that exist in some quarters in our own country as to the naval policy and objectives of Japan, the fact should be accepted that the Japanese Navy is primarily designed for operation in Japanese waters. The Japanese do not intend to send their battle fleet into an engagement except in proximity to Japanese naval bases. We are building up an American naval base in Hawaii, and if trouble arose in the Pacific our fleet would probably be sent to Hawaii, ready to encounter any hostile craft that might appear upon the horizon. But the Japanese fleet would not steam 3,400 miles from its bases to give battle to the American fleet. Nor is it to be considered within the possibilities that the American fleet would, under any circumstances, be sent to make an attack upon the Japanese islands or to seek out the Japanese fleet in its home waters. We have no designs upon the territories or interests of Japan; and inasmuch as the Japanese fleet is maintained for the naval defense of the Japanese islands and the domination of the Japanese maritime area, there is no reason to anticipate any engagement on the Pacific Ocean between American and Japanese battle fleets.

The Japanese naval policy is con-

cerned with two things: (1) The prevention of any interference in the Japanese maritime area by any foreign power; if such interference be attempted Japan will fight, but she will fight in her home waters, where her battle fleet will have the support of a well-elaborated system of bases; (2) The protection of Japanese communications with the Asiatic mainland, in order to assure in all circumstances the unimpeded transport of the Japanese Army and of military supplies and munitions to Korea, Manchuria and China. In a broad sense, the Japanese naval policy is designed to overawe and dominate Eastern Asia and to keep any foreign power, including the United States, from interfering by force with this policy.

Some American people may not approve what they believe to be the imperialistic attitude of the Japanese in Korea, in China, in Manchuria and in Eastern Siberia. We have no misgivings as to the commercial penetration of these countries by Japan, but we take the view that Japanese goods may move to these countries without disturbing their peoples by Japanese politics, imperialism and intrigue. But we are not going to war with Japan for any of these causes, or for all of them combined. We refused to accept a mandate over Turkey, although our sympathies with the oppressed Armenians in the loss of their ancient national rights were quite as great as our sympathies with the Koreans in the destruction of their ancient Government and the grievances they have suffered under the measures which Japan has taken to repress national sentiment in that country. The peoples of the Asiatic mainland, as far as we are concerned, however, must settle their controversies with Japan in their own way and in their own time.

There is another salient fact in this relation which must not be overlooked. It is that Japan esteems, above all things else, the position which has been accorded her among the civilized powers. It gratifies the Japanese pride to be permitted to sit in the councils of nations with the statesmen of the white races.

The right to confer upon an equality with the United States, Great Britain, France and Italy is a status which Japan will not lightly forego or interrupt by bringing on a war with either the United States or Great Britain. There is nothing she could gain by such a conflict which would be at all commensurate with the risks involved and the inevitable consequences of which would require a century for their effacement.

There is much to support the view that an American naval policy cannot properly be based upon the theory that we must prepare a fleet to defeat the Japanese or to defend our country against any Japanese menace to our territory or to our rights. The Japanese may indulge the feeling that America menaces Japan. But there is no foundation for that view. Though there may be some jingoists in the United States who would inflame the American people against Japan, as well as other countries, the fact is that the American people generally have been friendly toward Japan and have viewed with interest, and indeed with admiration, the remarkable progress that the Japanese have made. Nor does our Government propose to intervene or interfere in controversies between Japan and the Koreans or the Chinese or the inhabitants of Manchuria, and therefore such controversies do not constitute a proper factor in American naval policy.

The question remains as to what is the proper objective for American naval policy. The answer usually given is that the American Navy must be maintained for the defense of our coasts. Everybody, of course, is for coast defense, and the conclusion drawn is that everybody, therefore, is in favor of a great fleet of battleships for this purpose. But this question is not to be settled upon such superficial considerations. Effective coast defenses, adequate for the protection of our great ports and the approaches to our harbors, do not depend upon battleships to the extent which has been assumed. The effective factors in coast defense are prop-

erly emplaced shore batteries, mounting long-range guns, mines controlled by electric devices from the shore and mine fields planted by mine-laying vessels, either surface craft or submarine. The established fact is that battleships cannot approach within the range of powerful shore batteries or come within the area of mine fields. They cannot enter properly protected harbors or approach protected coastal sectors. They dare not do so.

LIMITATIONS OF BATTLESHIPS

The modern battleship cannot operate far from its base of supplies. Battleships cannot seize or occupy continental coasts. They are ineffective against coast lines or for the seizure and occupation of land-areas, except in the case of relatively small islands. The smaller islands in the West Indies were, in historical times, seized by fleets of European powers at war. But that day is past. Fleets are not maintained to seize islands. The seizure of an island would not be of utility in time of war, unless it afforded a base for operations and had been improved for naval purposes. But such improved islands are always protected by powerful shore batteries, which cause battleships to avoid them. Under modern conditions, it is only the small, unfortified, unimproved island which can be seized by a fleet. Battleships are fit only for one thing, and that is to fight other battleships by gunfire. This is what the professional naval man wants. It is according to the traditional naval code, which is about as obsolete today as the code of the duelists. But the professional naval man clings to his tradition. He clings to the battleship, he likes to stand upon the quarter deck and hear the big guns speak against the enemy. To him this is the acme of glory. He clings to the idea of fleet engagements in which he can employ his strategical moves and tactics as in a great professional game. This is the accepted view of the Navy Department. Yet there has been no real instance of an engagement of this character determining the question of naval supremacy

between great naval powers since the modern battleship was developed.

The so-called battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, took place between an American cruiser squadron and a few obsolete Spanish vessels which huddled in the harbor at Manila and were afraid to risk an engagement. In the battle of Santiago, July 3, 1898, the Spaniards had no battleships, but only four armored cruisers engaged. The Spaniards were not seeking to engage in a battle, but to escape from Santiago harbor. Some of these vessels were run aground on the Cuban coast. The Spanish Admiral knew that he was taking his fleet to certain destruction in trying to make an escape, but he was obliged to obey his orders, and the disaster which he anticipated was quickly realized. The battle in the Sea of Japan between the Russian and Japanese fleets, on May 27, 1905, is as fair an example of a fleet engagement as may be found. The Russian fleet sought to avoid an engagement. The Russians were intent upon breaking through to Vladivostok. The Japanese were waiting in the Sea of Japan, eager for battle. The Russian fleet was not organized for battle, was demoralized and unprepared, and disaster was inevitable. The class of vessels engaged in this battle is now obsolete. The folly committed by the Russian Government, not a great naval power, in sending this fleet half-way around the world, to risk a battle with a superior fleet, operating in its home waters and in proximity to its bases, will not be repeated by any responsible Government.

CAUSES OF BATTLESHIP LOSSES

In the war with Germany the British lost thirteen battleships, thirteen cruisers and three battle cruisers. The battle cruisers were sunk by gunfire at the battle of Jutland. The battle cruiser sacrifices armor and batteries for great engine power and large fuel storage, in order to attain high speed, increased gun range and long radius of navigation, and hence cannot fight within gun range of an enemy ship. If the battle

cruiser be taken by surprise, because of the low visibility or otherwise she succumbs to the first shot which strikes her. That is just what happened at the battle of Jutland. When the regular battle fleet of the British came into action and engaged the German battle fleet, gunfire proceeded only for fifteen minutes, at the end of which interval, in obedience to a general order previously issued, the British battleships turned away from the engagement because they apprehended being struck with torpedoes which they assumed the Germans in this interval would have launched against them. If the results of the battle of Jutland mean anything, they mean that a battle cruiser cannot fight within the gun range of any hostile ship, and that the battleship can not and will not fight torpedoes, or fight in an area where torpedoes may be readily launched from destroyers, from submarines or from the shore. Nor did the British vessels during the war dare to approach Heligoland or the German coast, because the approaches were mined and the waters infested with submarines. The important fact remains that of the thirteen battleships lost by the British during the war none was lost by gunfire, and of the thirteen cruisers lost only five by any possibility were sunk by gunfire.

The inescapable conclusion is that the United States must establish and maintain a system of coast defense based upon shore establishments with auxiliary seacraft and aircraft which shall be adequate for the protection of the country against any overseas attack, without dependence upon battleships or fleets of battleships as such, except as auxiliary factors. This condition is perfectly possible of realization. It is understood by military officers who have their eyes open to the facts and are not bound by traditional professional views. The Chief of Coast Artillery, in his report of Sept. 8, 1924, quoted from a report made ten years ago, and which declared that "the United States possesses today the most formidable system of coast defenses in the world." As

long ago as 1915, the Secretary of War stated to the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate:

I consider the Coast Artillery the most important, and for this reason: that, isolated as we are on all sides by water, none of our great centres of population where these great coast artillery forts are, can be attacked successfully from the sea and laid under tribute if we have sufficient coast artillery defenses.

In the annual report of Dec. 20, 1916, the Chief of Coast Artillery said:

The coast fortifications will be able to meet successfully any attack that can reasonably be expected to be made upon them, or upon the cities, harbors or interests which they guard, by the most powerful warships afloat or at present projected.

Great guns to outrange anything that can be mounted upon a floating fortress, heavy tractor and railroad artillery that can be moved along the coast, anti-aircraft batteries, mines and mine fields, and an extensive air fleet, all manned by adequately trained personnel, are the essential factors in the practical system of coast defense which is particularly adapted to the requirements of the United States. In 1920 the War Department, in collaboration with the Navy Department, issued a publication under the title of "Joint Army and Navy Action in Coast Defense," wherein it was said:

The present war has so materially modified our ideas as to land and coast defenses by the introduction and development of new means and methods of combat on the sea, on land and in the air, that it has become necessary for the army to undertake a revision of practically all its defense projects and plans. Existing plans have, in general, been based upon the idea of defending important seaports, naval bases, and so forth, by the occupation of selected covering positions. With our present increased resources in material, personnel and war experience, a more aggressive attitude of defense is warranted. It is proposed to show in this memorandum that by a properly organized system of beach defense of the favorable landing places near all vitally important objectives, it will be possible positively to secure the United States against invasion from the sea, even should we lose command of the sea in both oceans.

As far as the battleship as a factor

in future national defense is concerned, there is little to be expected from the further development, improvement or multiplication of craft of this character. Capital ships of this class are costly in construction, complicated in mechanism and expensive in maintenance. The prudence of constructing new battleships, even for the replacement of the vessels now constituting our battleship fleet, has been questioned by naval experts of high standing. In any event, projects for replacement construction should be given very careful consideration before a decision is reached to lay down any more vessels of this character. If an agreement can be made with Great Britain and Japan to forego new battleship construction for an indefinite period, or for a stated term of twenty years, our Government should be ready to enter into such an agreement. If we can be assured that no new battleships shall be laid down which, by any possibility, may be used for aggressions against the United States, we should upon our part be willing to forego new construction of such craft. Independently of this consideration, we may well decide that we may contrive more effective means of meeting the possible aggression of hostile battleships than to match these by craft of the same character. We would also save money in the process.

POSSIBILITIES OF SUBMARINES

The submarine as a defensive weapon is important and its possibilities should be carefully and consistently developed. But our experience with submarines, or rather with the construction of submarines by private contractors, and in conformity with private patents and specifications, has been unsatisfactory. The performance of the best submarines in the naval establishment at the fleet manoeuvres held at Culebra, Panama, a year ago were such as to call for the following caustic comment of the Commander-in-Chief of the fleet in a report addressed to the Chief of Naval Operations and dispatched on March 3, 1924,

when the fleet was at sea, en route from the manoeuvres to New York:

Of the combatant ships taking part in the problems the submarines are the worst. Their design is obsolete and faulty. Their ventilation is poor and at times almost non-existent. The temperatures in the engine room rose as high as 135 degrees. They are unreliable. Some of their fuel tanks leak, either spoiling their fresh water, or enhancing the fire menace, or leaving an oil slick whereby they can be tracked. The radius of the Holland boats is less than rated and they drag excessively when loaded.

All the submarines are so deficient in speed as to be of small use for fleet work except by accident of position. They must be used with the fleet either so far ahead as to be out of the way (in which case they are a source of worry) or assembled astern, from which location they cannot gain effective position in case of contact.

In regard to the submarines the Commander-in-Chief realizes with regret that there is nothing better in sight, and consequently the personnel will do the best it can to produce the maximum results with those the fleet has. The work of the personnel of these ships is in many cases admirable.

This report was more than a criticism of the condition of the Navy, including battleships and all auxiliary craft; it was an exposure of the defects in the various naval units and the deficiencies in organization. It also condemned the high overhead expense and pointed out that the material condition of the fleet "is not as good as it should be: * * * there are a number of major defects which can be corrected only by correction of national policy, which must be worked for."

The unsatisfactory condition of the Navy as revealed by this report and by trustworthy information which from time to time was obtained from various authentic sources led to repeated demands in Congress and throughout the country for an exhaustive investigation of all questions affecting the Navy and our naval establishment. Resolutions were offered in Congress calling for a comprehensive investigation. One was offered in the Senate and pressed before the Senate Naval Affairs Committee with the utmost vigor. The Presi-

dent of the United States, as well as the Navy Department, opposed such investigation, and the majority of the committee, reflecting the view of the Administration, declined to report the resolution. In my opinion this was a mistake. Neither the Navy Department nor Congress, nor the country, is sufficiently advised to determine a proper naval policy or the character and extent of the naval establishment which should be maintained by the United States.

It is certain that insufficient attention has been given to the development of submarines, aircraft, mines and naval auxiliary craft. There seems to be an aversion upon the part of many naval officers toward utilizing and developing the many naval weapons, including submarines and airplanes, which the World War showed to be indispensable in a modern, "up-to-date" navy.

Recurring to the report above referred to, it is stated by the Commander-in-Chief that the planes which were with the fleet were obsolete, that there were no torpedoes or bombs, that the planes were unable to land or take-off in a moderate sea, and were therefore ineffective. It must be conceded by those who are familiar with the Navy that there has been too much devotion to old traditions and archaic methods, and that the hostility toward the acceptance and application of the lessons of the war have been obstacles to the development of the Navy and to bringing it to a high standard of effectiveness. The controversies between General Mitchell and high naval officers are cumulative evidences of the necessity of a searching inquiry into the question of national defense, and particularly into the condition of the Navy. This is imperative if we are to develop a rational naval policy.

Annual appropriations for the Army and the Navy since the war have averaged more than \$800,000,000, and for the next fiscal year will be more than \$600,000,000. There is no indication, with the confused and uncertain policy governing the question of national defense, that the annual expenditures of

these departments will be less in the future. Indeed, if there is not an international agreement entered into for the limitation of armaments, it is certain that the Navy Department will demand—and its demand will be actively supported throughout the country—yet larger appropriations for naval purposes. Our weakness in most forms of auxiliary craft, and particularly in airplanes and fleet submarines, will force large appropriations at the hands of Congress, thus adding to the burdens of the people and swelling the cost of our military and naval establishments. It is important that immediate attention should be given to the development of a proper submarine and aircraft building program and the development of means for its execution. If it is advantageous for the Government to employ its existing plants for this purpose it should be done.

Feeble Air Forces

It is asserted with a great deal of positiveness that the United States at this time is without a real air force for operations over land or sea, and that the War and Navy Departments have refused to see the controlling importance of aircraft as a factor in the defense of the country. If our military and naval establishments are feeble in air forces, material and equipage, and this appears to be true, the cause cannot be ascribed to any failure of Congress to make the necessary appropriations for the building up of a powerful air organization. In the last ten years the appropriations made by Congress for the creation and the maintenance of air forces have totaled \$2,108,094,665, which is four times the estimated cost of the 1916 naval building program at the time it was approved by Congress. In other words Congress has appropriated and there has been expended on aircraft and air forces in the last ten years four times the estimates of the cost of the 1916 naval construction program, which in essential features was thereafter abandoned because of the tremendous expenditures involved. These

appropriations for aviation in the last decade are as follows:

	War Department.	Navy Department.	Total.
1916.	\$300,000	\$1,000,000	\$1,300,000
1917.	5,400,000	20,633,000	26,033,000
1918.	640,000,000	45,000,000	685,000,000
1919.	952,078,758	220,265,119	1,172,343,877
1920.	24,975,000	25,017,984	49,992,984
1921.	32,028,236	19,686,508	51,714,744
1922.	26,580,114	11,173,402	37,753,516
1923.	13,739,757	14,973,750	28,713,507
1924.	12,769,689	14,743,348	27,513,037
1925.	12,580,000	15,150,000	27,730,000
	\$1,720,451,554	\$387,643,111	\$2,108,094,665

The Government has in ten years spent \$3,636,713,846 for merchant ships, \$2,108,094,665 for airships and \$1,572,311,266 for warships. And yet, after having spent \$7,318,019,737 for these purposes, it is now asserted that we have no merchant fleet, no air service and no navy—at least, it is said that we must have a new merchant fleet, a new air service and a new navy. If this be so, it is obvious that we shall have to take other measures to procure these new fleets than the improvident dissipation of Congressional appropriations.

If the country is not getting a commensurate benefit for the \$27,000,000 per annum which is currently being expended for aviation, we ought to find out who is getting the benefit of these millions of dollars. If the aircraft in the military and naval establishments are defective in design, construction or functioning, or otherwise unsatisfactory, we ought to find out the reasons therefor. If our Government does not have airplane engines as effective as those possessed by other Governments, the fact ought to be ascertained and the condition rectified. If private contractors or manufacturers are controlling our aviation policy, and see in Government appropriations only an opportunity to get more millions for themselves, measures should be taken to thwart such purpose.

The air service obviously needs expansion. We can afford to expand a sound

and effective service. We cannot afford to multiply equipment which is merely in an experimental stage, or to expand a service which is ineffective in its operation. The two thousand millions which the Government has laid out for aircraft experimentation and exploitation have been so flagrantly dissipated that we ought to make sure that we get the air-graft out of air-craft as we deal with it, before we are warranted in proceeding with an extensive construction program and the development of air forces and personnel upon a large scale, however important it be that we progress with reasonable expedition toward the ultimate organization of a formidable air force over land and sea.

Air forces, as related to the defense of the country against external aggression from the sea, would be more properly a part of the naval establishment than of the military establishment. There is much argument to induce us to put all the defensive works for the protection of the country against aggressions from the sea under one organization. An army operating on land under modern conditions must have its own distinctive air service; but so far as the Army is concerned, airplanes are merely auxiliaries, and it is not necessary to maintain more army planes than are required for the service of the regular military establishment. But the air force which the country requires for defense of its maritime frontiers, its coasts and ports, must be a great, highly integrated force independent of the Army. It must operate in conjunction with the Navy and the coast artillery, which means that it must operate in conjunction with the shore batteries and with every species of craft provided for coast defense. If we are to have a unification of defense services, we may well change the name of the Department of the Navy to the Department of Defense, and transfer to the Department of De-

fense the coast artillery organization and the new defensive air force which should be built up.

It is morally certain that the American Army will never have to meet a formidable military force within the territorial confines of the United States or anywhere on the American continent. There is no need for us to anticipate or to provide against the invasion of the land frontiers of the United States by hostile military forces which could in any wise equal the army which we could provide in an emergency to meet them. Our Canadian frontier is merely a geographical line between friendly peoples and this it will remain. The irritations and irruptions upon the Mexican border will subside. There is nothing in this region which would make it a strategical objective upon the part of an invading army, and we need not fear a formidable invasion from this direction. If such an invasion became imminent we would be able to shorten the Mexican land frontier by half and we would do it swiftly.

It is only against attack from overseas that provision need be made. It is our coastal frontiers which in any eventuality will need to be defended. The American people are in favor of adequate defense. They are willing to pay for such defense. This objective may be served only by a unified system, a highly integrated organization which will at all times have complete command of the means which are arranged and maintained for this purpose. This should be the controlling principle in the provision which Congress should make for the security of the country.

[Captain Dudley W. Knox, U. S. N. (Retired), Chief of the Historical Section of the Navy Department, has contributed an article presenting a different phase of the naval situation, which will be printed in the June issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.—EDITOR.]

The Imperial City of New York

By SAMUEL McCOY

ONCE there might have been such a person as "a typical New Yorker," but he no longer exists. There are so many who can rightly call themselves New Yorkers and who, at the same time, differ much among themselves.

Yet, provided the retrospect does not begin till we have gone back to the year 1900, it is not hard to visualize a succession of New Yorkers, each of whom in his day might have been dubbed "typical." Perhaps in the past three centuries and a half there have not been more than a dozen of them.

I myself was just in time to see the New Yorker of the last generation, the New Yorker of the nineteenth century, the sophisticate to whom the automobile was a novelty provoking gales of mirth—to see him, but scarcely to know him. He was already vanishing, obscured, not by the city's past, but by its future. One thinks of him as a Corinthian—elegant, perhaps, but clinging stoutly to the rougher sports—gazing at the great John L. Sullivan in a barroom; patronizing the gentry of the prize ring; drinking with men only, and frowning at cigarette smoking on the part of women of breeding; disapproving of suffrage for women; in his business life still blissfully unconscious that such phrases as "go-getter" and "100 per cent. efficiency" would be coined; still clinging to the Victorian virtues and vices; in a word, the last of the old Romans. This New Yorker, who has had no successor, moved and had his being in a New York City whose population was passing 3,000,000, and which was talking in dead earnest about the project, once considered fantastic, of merging the outlying communities in four other counties with Manhattan, to form the grandiose

"Greater New York." He was almost a contemporary of ourselves, but not quite.

Further back we see the typical New Yorker of 1870, who could wear his toga of citizenship serenely confident that no mere Brooklynite or denizen of the Bronx could dream of sharing that proud honor with him. He was of Manhattan only, the last indubitable New Yorker. He knew giants of old, he walked Wall Street with Jay Gould and Jim Fisk, laughed at "Innocents Abroad," permitted and punished the infamies of Tweed, launched his titan railroads westward across the continent, beheld Cyrus Field laying the Atlantic cable, and gazed, half shocked and half amused, at the bearded Brooklynite, Walt Whitman, drinking beer in a Fourteenth Street "garden." He dined with the first Vanderbilt, a hale old gentleman. He "kept his carriage." He invented Newport. He (and his wife) founded an aristocracy which was to endure forever; and which actually lasted fifty years. It is gone now and so is he, and so is the New York that he knew.

There was still another typical New Yorker, thirty years earlier than this magnifico. One thinks of him as a sort of combination of merchant and mariner, for this, 1840, was the great age of New York's clipper ship supremacy. "There now," wrote Melville, author of "Moby Dick," though he wrote this in 1850, "is your insular city of the Manhattoes, belted round by wharves as Indian isles by coral reefs—commerce sur-

Samuel McCoy is a writer whose articles on peonage conditions in Florida were followed by the revision of the convict labor laws of that State and secured the award of the Pulitzer Gold Medal in 1924 "for the most disinterested and meritorious public service rendered by an American newspaper during the year." He has studied urban affairs in both America and Europe, and has spent most of the past twenty-five years in New York City.

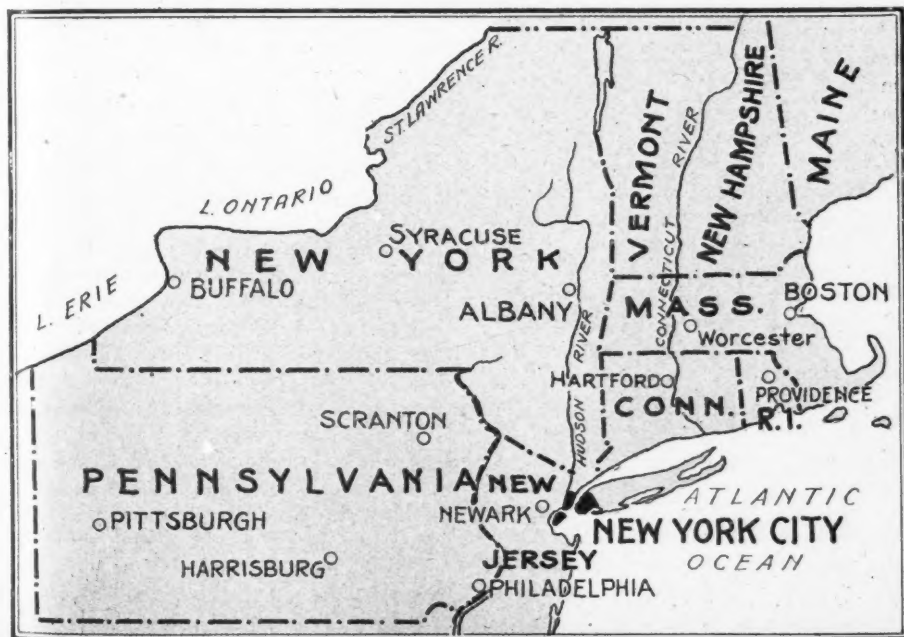
rounds it with her surf." And he goes on to describe how every citizen of the place turns instinctively to the waterfront.

One sees this New Yorker very plainly—a bluff, broadshouldered man, cheeks roughened and reddened by weather, clothed in a shipmaster's dark blue, turning to gaze at the curiosities of Mr. Barnum's Museum, across Broadway from St. Paul's. In the bay, off the Battery, "where that noble mole is washed by waves and cooled by breezes," you might count 500 sail—square-riggers, barks, brigs, schooners, sloops and cutters. Gazing at them, with the rest, is a New Yorker named Fenimore Cooper. * * *

Go back another thirty years and we are down to a little city of only a scant 100,000 population, but which, twenty years before, had had only 33,000 citizens. Its mighty commerce is beginning, but it is still half rural. Greenwich Village is still actually a village, detached from the city. Every home is within walking distance of every other. Streets

follow the lines of cowpaths lately used, and the dreamers have but just adopted the scheme for laying out all new streets at right angles. The great Aaron Burr, late Vice President, the power guiding the infant Tammany Hall Society, has a country villa *south* of Washington Square. The first Astor has just founded his fur-trading post in Oregon. Each New Yorker lights his home with wax candles. Men wear knee breeches. The typical New Yorker of the day is half a merchant, half a statesman—for it has been only twenty years since Washington was inaugurated as President, at the corner of Wall Street and Broad Street; and New York has scarcely lost its habit of being the political centre of the new nation.

Recede another thirty years and New York is no longer American at all (nor is any other city in the Colonies), but a British outpost. Red coats, white wigs and lace ruffles are on the Battery. Go back still further, excavating layer after layer of time, as archaeologists unearth buried cities, and you unearth one New



Map showing the position of New York City on the Atlantic Coast



Hamilton Maxwell

Airplane view of the lower end of the Island of Manhattan, showing the skyscrapers that distinguish downtown New York

York after another; trudge backward, past British colonist, backward past Dutch patroon; and at last you find yourself alone upon the silent Island of Mannahatta, alone except for a copper-colored savage and his brethren, who have been here in this lonely wilderness for a thousand years. Was this half-naked savage once "the typical New Yorker"?

A MONSTER CITY TODAY

No longer is any one person typical of New York, or necessary to New York. The city has become a monster. Its arms encircle 9,000,000 people, and it gazes with stony and unseeing eyes at these 9,000,000 squirming animalculae. It is become too big, this city. It is so vast that it has become grotesque and laughable. Each morning it seizes

2,000,000 persons and pours them, struggling, into a tin bucket; and each night it sucks them out again, helpless infusoriae; a crude and insane regurgitation! Each day it pours 5,000,000 pedestrians and 300,000 vehicles into its streets, all hurrying somewhere. The pedestrians choke the streams of vehicles; the vehicles block the pedestrians. When a foot of snow falls, as it sometimes does, within twenty four hours the streets become, in spite of the frenzied toil of an army of 10,000 laborers hurled at the snowbanks by this most opulent of cities, almost as impassable as backwoods roads. Although the City of New York has in the 300 years of its existence recorded triumphs of every description, it seems almost useless to hope that it can ever completely solve its worst problem, the traffic problem.

It can arrange palliatives, methods by which the congestion of this street or that section may be lightened temporarily; but the very nature of the situation is that of an unanswerable riddle. The more the city prospers, the more the people flock into it; and the more people, the more congestion.

It should be remembered that there are so many millions of people living in Manhattan in this year of 1925 that if all of them had only street-level room, there would be for each one, on the average, a space only ten feet square in which to cook, eat, sleep and transact his daily business! Thus easily is the height of New York's buildings explained. Although in its five boroughs the city has 4,000 miles of streets, three-fourths of which are paved, there is not room upon all of these for the traffic. Any one who thinks that this condition is described in exaggerated terms has never been caught in a New York City subway jam at a rush hour. At many a main arterial station underground, at such times, men and women by the thousands literally fight to get into trains already jammed solid with humanity. The experience might daunt the hardest; and yet a million people endure it every day, for the simple reason that they must get to their work, and the surface cars and the elevated lines will not do for them. The man of means, who has his taxicab or his private limousine, fares only a little better. He is, no doubt, comfortable, on the way to his office, but his car is only one of the 13,000 taxicabs, the 215,000 privately owned passenger cars, the 15,000 omnibuses and the 70,000 commercial cars which follow each

other along the streets of New York City, five abreast in some avenues, and attempt to cut the streams of traffic debouching from every cross street. Thus a distance that should be traversible in ten minutes takes an hour.

As the population spread over and packed itself into the twenty-two square miles on Manhattan Island, and from thence spread outward over the 315 square miles of the Greater City, it formed itself into clots here and there, but these denser knots were never permanent. Until recently, a million people lived (or existed) in the narrow neck below Fourteenth Street; one-sixth of the population crammed into an area which was scarcely more than one per cent. of the land surface. Zoning laws were enacted in 1916 and began to have their effect upon these knottings of people engaged in this industry or that. The centre of the garment-working trade, for example, has shifted from the lower east side and lower Fifth Avenue to Seventh Avenue, on the west side, and into the cross-streets be-



The five boroughs—Manhattan, Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens and Richmond—which form the City of New York



Hamilton Maxwell

The Forty-second Street district of New York City, as seen from an airplane, showing the many new skyscrapers that have been built in recent years

tween Thirtieth and Fortieth. Yet on the fringe of the congestion, breathing spaces and parks have somehow been preserved for its inhabitants. The Greater City has 113 parks, covering 8,000 acres. Then there is that famous boulevard, Riverside Drive, overlooking the Hudson, with its strip of green parkway clinging to the cliffs that descend to the river. There are the spacious grounds of Columbia University, where 33,000 students gather through the year. On torrid Summer nights a million people seek the bathing beaches.

Before 1915 New York was a long, narrow city. Since 1915 four tunnels for rapid-transit trains have been opened, running under the East River and connecting Manhattan with Long Island. One result was that in five years 150,000 new buildings leaped up on Long Island. Synchronizing with this amazing growth to the eastward was the expansion to the west, across the Hudson River, in New Jersey, and the expansion of suburbs in the north and

northeast. The decade saw the narrow city become a round city, the ideal shape. New York, with herculean labor, enormous financial cost and stubborn determination, had begun to conquer the geographical handicaps to its development.

The new buildings erected in the five boroughs of the city during 1924 aggregated in cost nearly \$1,000,000,000—a third of all the building operation costs in the entire United States. New York's city budget last year was made up of the following items: \$8,000,000 for conducting the civil courts; \$18,000,000 for building and maintaining highways, bridges, subways, ferries and docks; \$20,000,000 for fire protection; \$21,000,000 for administrative "overhead"; \$24,000,000 for hospitals, charitable institutions and child welfare; \$30,000,000 for public health—the cleaning of streets, maintenance of sewers, inspection of tenements, water supply, public baths and the Department of Health; \$40,000,000 for police

protection, prosecution and punishment of crimes and offenses; \$89,000,000 for schools, colleges, public libraries, teachers' pensions, parks and playgrounds; together with \$105,000,000 set aside for taxes due the State of New York, interest and redemption of the city debt; a total of \$375,000,000—roundly, one-fifth of the amount appropriated by Congress to run the entire United States for the present fiscal year. The assessed wealth of the city—\$12,000,000,000—is equal to the national wealth of Belgium, half that of the entire Japanese Empire, double that of the continent of Australia, and four times that of all South Africa, with its diamond mines. A flood of \$5,000,000,000 flows into the city each year, in payment for its manufactured products alone. It is, commercially, a nation in itself; fifty-three sovereign nations maintain their consular offices in New York, mainly for business purposes.

CAUSE OF CITY'S GREATNESS

Why has New York become America's greatest business centre? There was a time when Philadelphia and Boston both surpassed New York in commerce and financial importance. Yet New York outstripped them both and became the richest city in the world. Geographic position was, of course, of primary importance. Boston, directly on the Atlantic, is nearer Europe by several hours. Philadelphia is the Atlantic port more directly reached by rail from all the vast continent stretching westward. But New York combined the advantages and surmounted the drawbacks of the other two. She tapped the great West by rail better than Boston, and, unlike Philadelphia, is directly on the sea, with a magnificent natural harbor, rather than upon a river many miles from the Atlantic. Her climate, also, more equable than that of Atlantic seaports either north or south of her, has been of material aid. This was sheer natural good fortune. But upon this foundation, New York lifted herself with a concerted energy that grew steadily

greater and greater in amazing progression. Here and there in the city's history of 300 years, great individual names and single families stand out, like the lofty towers of Manhattan's famous jagged skyline—an Astor, a Stuyvesant, a Morgan, a Vanderbilt, a Rockefeller, a Sage, a Stewart, a Potter, a Walt Whitman—but countless have been the notable men and women who have helped to lift the magic city upward. The factor that clinched the fi-



Hamilton Maxwell

Broadway as it intersects the avenues on its way northward on Manhattan Island. The photograph was taken from an airplane



Times Square, New York City

Wide World Photos

nancial supremacy of New York over all the cities of the world was the "accident" of the World War. Until 1914, London had been the greatest international money-lender; but the financial aid which America was able to render other nations while Great Britain was pouring her own resources into the war shifted the sceptre to New York. The last decade was, therefore, the one most generous to the city, if not the one most significant, among the thirty decades of its history.

Into an empty bay, where no sail had ever been seen, comes venturing a tiny Dutch ship, the *Half-Moon*, on a September day in 1609. Its commander, Hendrik Hudson, sails up the mighty river which is later to bear his name and on either shore is nothing but green and silent wastes of wilderness, forest, an immense stillness. And in 1925, within a radius of twenty-five miles from where the *Half-Moon* first anchored, there are 10,000,000 people. Into that bay, where the little *Half-Moon* once lay at anchor with not one other vessel

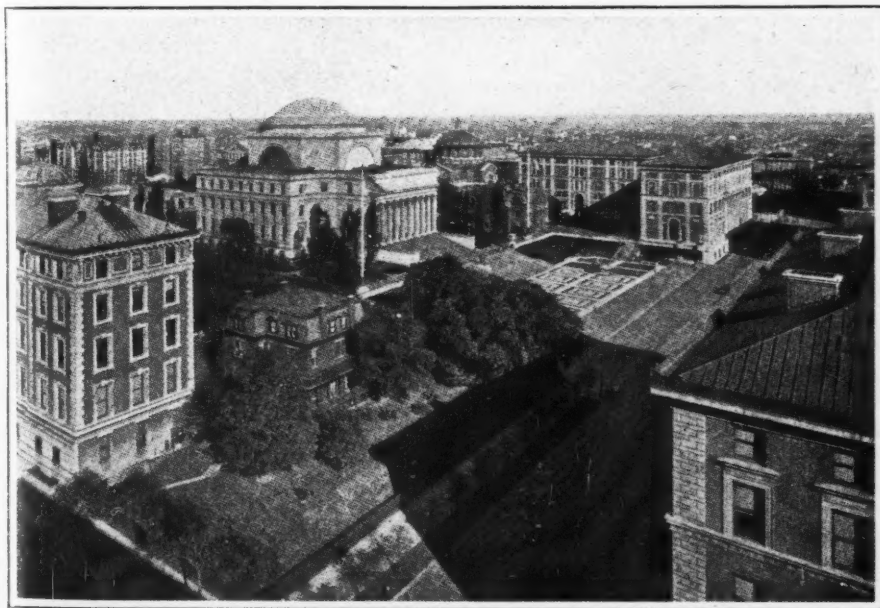
in sight, there now come 5,000 vessels yearly. From hundreds upon hundreds of these vessels there has flowed for years an unbroken torrent of humanity, the peoples of all the world. In the last five years only, out of 1,615,000 alien immigrants who entered the country by its five chief sea gates, 1,400,000 came through the port of New York.

Countless numbers of these newcomers from foreign lands never pierced further into America, but remained in the city of their first arrival, New York. Out of 6,000,000 people living today within the corporate borders of New York City, nearly 4,000,000 are of foreign stock. Two million of them are of foreign birth. In religion, 1,600,000 are Jews. There are in New York City 480,000 persons born in Russia. There are nearly 400,000 who were born in Italy. There are 200,000 who were born in Ireland. Those of German birth now in New York could by themselves make up a city as large as Kiel or Stettin. People of fifty different nations go to form the population of

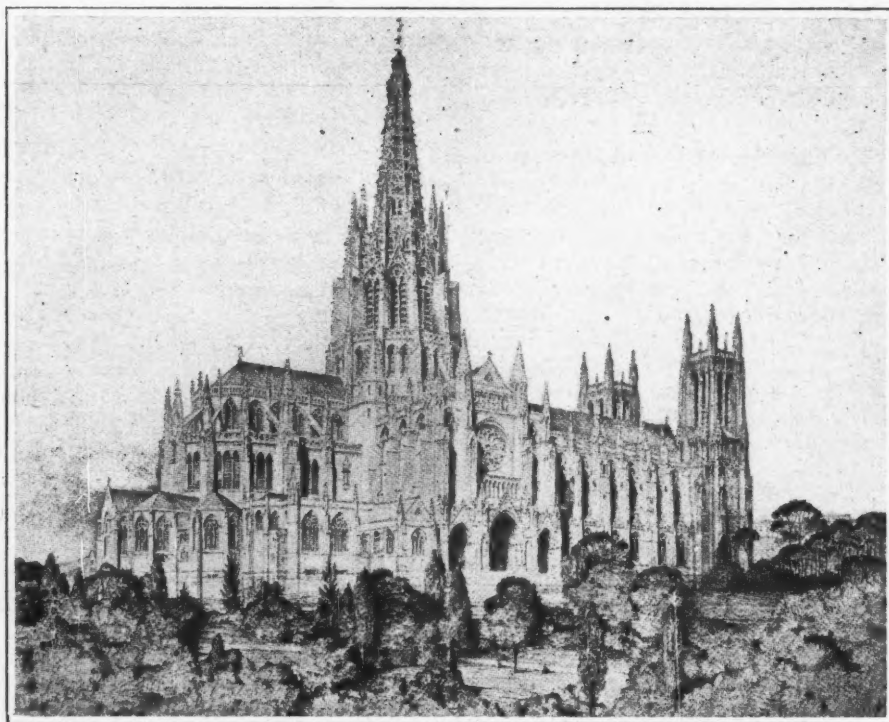
New York; and there are streets where English speech is less common than some foreign tongue. Of negroes, there are more than 175,000, of whom more than 100,000 are congregated in the Harlem district—the largest aggregation of negroes that has ever been known in one modern community, not excepting Africa. No city in all the Southern States has as large a number. This mixture of nationalities, paralleled on such a scale in no other American city, has complicated New York's problems with a sardonic superlative. The foreign colonies color every other municipal problem and add a collective one of their own—that of fusing these alien strains into complete American citizenship. Yet the problem gradually solves itself. Ordinary daily contacts between the newly arrived and the English-speaking garrison provide the greatest educator and solvent. The contribution of the last ten years has been the growth of agencies dedicated to hasten this forging of Americans, and to direct their education, rather than leave it to

chance. The city's 600 public school buildings, with their 1,000,000 pupils, its manifold organizations to instruct and aid the newly arrived from abroad—this is, indeed, an immense and living sculpture.

Naturally enough, when the population of New York City, of its sister city Brooklyn and of the communities nearest to Manhattan Island had increased to millions by the close of the nineteenth century, a proposal to consolidate them all under one city government in the interests of efficiency and progress was advanced. These districts were organized into five boroughs, incorporated under a new charter as the Greater City in 1898, a charter which, with an amendment, went into effect in 1902. Staten Island, forming one of the five boroughs, was logically included, as its position makes it an integral part of the seaport. In 1921 another corporate and political body, known as the Port of New York Authority, was created by the States of New York and New Jersey and ratified



Part of the extensive Columbia University section of the city before the School of Business building was erected on the site at the corner of Broadway and 116th Street, occupied formerly by the Faculty Club



Drawing of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York City, as it will be when completed. It is designed to become one of the greatest ecclesiastical buildings in the world

by the United States Congress as the recognized agency between the two States and the Federal Government in developing the Port of New York, which has an annual water-borne tonnage, not including the local and internal tonnage, of upward of 125,000,000, valued at \$11,000,000,000.

New York has become, beyond argument, the artistic, literary, scientific and intellectual centre of the United States. Actually, those engaged in such endeavors in New York are numerous enough to form a city by themselves. There are in New York City 10,000 artists, painters, sculptors and teachers of art; 10,000 actors and actresses; 6,000 authors and journalists; 15,000 musicians and teachers of music—41,000 in all. Of the 24,000 notables listed in "Who's Who in America," fully 6,000 make their homes in or near New York City. The New York Public

Library has nearly 3,000,000 books, and there are nearly 100 other public libraries in the city, many of which specialize in certain branches of learning. The value of the products of the newspaper and periodical publications of the city at their latest listing was \$205,000,000, and that of the printing and publishing industry for the same year was \$120,000,000. Of the 9,000 books published in the United States during 1924, the great majority were published in New York. How can the contents of all her public and private museums of art and learning be catalogued? The galleries, the houses of the rich, the public museums, the magnificent shops of Fifth Avenue's famous thirty blocks, hold the treasures of the centuries, brought from every corner of the world.

Why is it that, to America, this city has become at once an Athens and a Rome? "In the last ten years," says

one authority, "the city has grown so rich that it has become the best market in the world for many articles of taste and luxury and for art treasures. The significance of this is not yet generally appreciated. It implies that New York is to become more and more the place of resort for those engaged in the learned or artistic professions and for all concerned with the fine arts." In promoting physical health—another sign of advancing civilization—New York City during the past decade has played a great part. Public health study conducted here by such institutions as the Sage and Rockefeller Foundations, a score of scientific institutions and a thousand scientists, has not only brought about a marked reduction in the city's death rate and an improvement in health, but has had its beneficent effect throughout the United States and even the world at large.

THE CITY OF YOUTH

Who has once seen this breath-taking city, looking down from above it on the far-stretching checkerboard of its 522,000 roofs, will never forget that sight; who has once seen its lofty, jutting and clustering towers gleaming white beneath a sky of dazzling blue, will never lose that memory; who has once heard the roar of its tremendous traffic thundering about him by day, or, in a night of fog from out of the sea, has heard the deep-toned rumblings of its ships, will never lose that sound from his inner ear; for he will, in that instant, have been caught up in her immensity and her eternal youth—her youth, with its eagerness, its boundless ambition, its unfaltering will.

There may be one mood—that of utter weariness of the spirit, weariness born of the spectacle of these millions of embodied selfishnesses, this frenzy of motion, these 300 murders and homicides yearly, these countless robberies, depravities, venalities, trickeries, countless starvings of souls and bodies, coldnesses and greeds, the nightmare weight

of 10,000,000 massed lives pressing down upon the beholder. But there is still another mood; and this mood is one of exultation, of exaltation, of exhilaration, such as that of eagles borne upward on the winds, or of a swimmer lifted upon mighty tides.

There is a street in the City of New York called Broadway. It began its history 300 years ago as a frontier highway, a mere lane, faintly discernible as it led northward from the southernmost tip of Manhattan Island, where the first settlers landed and built their earliest homes, northward 200 miles and more; through forests, peopled only by red savages and wild animals; up and down mountain and hill, always keeping the mighty Hudson at its left, until it reached Albany, an outpost in the wilderness. The pioneer "trace" became a road, then a paved road; and along the first ten miles of its course countless fortunes have been made, countless great enterprises launched, countless glittering pageants seen, countless bitter disillusionments and sudden happinesses have alike gone unrecorded. Its name has become famous the world over, almost a synonym for New York, in the city's promise and pride. And, although at times it seems no more than a most cheap and vulgar thoroughfare, lined with ugly buildings and frequented by cheap and vulgar people, it is, like the great city which surrounds it, a symbol of great things done and of great things to be done. On Broadway, as I crossed it at Times Square, I once heard three words spoken, three words more packed with meaning than all the millions of words printed in the 5,000 books which have been written about New York City. They were spoken by some one whom I never saw—some one talking to his companion, in the jostle and hurry of the street. "Dis is Broadvay," he was saying. "Dis is de street where—" The rest of his sentence was cut off, as the crowd swept us apart. But those three words—what might not have followed them!

"The street where—"

France's Debt to the United States Dissected

By DENYS P. MYERS

Corresponding Secretary World Peace Foundation

THE French debt to the United States raises several questions which it is important to try to answer. Briefly, these questions are: (1) How and why was the debt incurred? (2) How was the money expended? (3) What is the present status of the debt? (4) What relation has it to French finances, external and internal? (5) What is the budgetary situation of France as respects liquidation? (6) What factors are involved in payment?

The United States loans to France were made under the first and second Liberty Loan acts of April 24 and Sept. 24, 1917, both of which provide:

That for the purpose of more effectually providing for the national security and defense and prosecuting the war by establishing credits in the United States for foreign Governments, the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, is hereby authorized, on behalf of the United States, to purchase at par, from such foreign Governments then engaged in war with the enemies of the United States, their obligations hereafter issued, bearing the same rate of interest and containing in their essentials the same terms and conditions as those of the United States issued under the authority of this act.

The Secretary of the Treasury, in his report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1920, says:

The advances made by the United States to the Allies began only at the time of our entry into the war. For substantially a year we had no considerable military forces in Europe and we were lending the money needed to supply the part purchased from our people of the materials necessary for the armies of the Allies, who were holding the Germans in the meantime. If, in April, 1917, we had had a vast army in Europe there would have been no considerable loans to the Allies for purchases of war material in this country, since our own armies would have needed all the munitions this country could have produced.

Between May 8, 1917, and July 24, 1919, the United States Government established thirty-eight credits in favor of the French Government, amounting to a net total of \$3,047,974,777. Between May 8, 1917, and Sept. 28, 1920, 143 cash advances were made against those credits, amounting to a net total of \$2,966,028,442. During the war period of financing the total expenditures by France through the United States Treasury amounted to \$4,196,246,931, a sum offset by receipts of \$1,044,740,593 from France. The net expenditures on French account were consequently \$3,151,506,338. The latter amount as

EXPENDITURES REPORTED BY FRANCE, APRIL 6, 1917- NOV. 1, 1920

Munitions, including re- mounts	\$827,194,624.57
Exchange and cotton pur- chases	806,630,000.00
Foods	295,212,583.23
Other supplies.....	276,572,214.16
Tobacco	40,710,011.76
Transportation	32,519,420.36
Shipping	122,359,280.23
Reimbursements	1,045,781,623.40
Interest	268,791,426.37
Maturities	289,744,755.28
Relief	143,137,042.12
Silver	6,300,000.00
Miscellaneous	41,293,949.75

Total reported expendi-
tures\$4,196,246,931.23

Less—

Reimbursements from
U. S. credits to other
Governments 19,302,357.55
Dollar payments by U. S.
for foreign currencies. 1,025,438,235.88

Total deductions.....\$1,044,740,593.43

Net expenditures.....\$3,151,506,337.80

EXPENDITURES REPORTED BY FRANCE TO UNITED STATES TREASURY

	April 6- Dec. 31, 1917	January 1- June 30, 1918	July 1- Nov. 30, 1918	Dec. 1, 1918- June 30, 1919	July 1, 1919- Nov. 1, 1920
Munitions, including remounts.....	\$311,999,435.94	\$177,644,189.98	\$178,433,600.54	\$146,709,454.67	\$12,407,943.44
Exchange and cotton purchases.....	278,000,000.00	202,200,000.00	25,250,000.00	141,100,000.00	160,080,000.00
Foods	14,459,708.20	46,990,508.42	16,390,452.14	142,530,474.27	74,841,440.20
Other supplies	27,767,504.22	24,349,073.30	34,537,591.63	82,844,501.23	107,073,543.78
Tobacco .....	.....	9,195,798.47	9,164,758.58	18,949,283.43	3,400,171.28
Transportation	11,358,556.60	11,003,381.44	2,231,577.08	5,580,529.58	2,345,375.66
Shipping	10,282,902.70	26,525,345.45	25,202,600.52	34,991,976.72	25,356,454.84
Reimbursements	331,000,000.00	250,000,000.00	295,000,000.00	150,000,000.00	19,781,623.40
Interest	25,683,920.11	40,553,221.78	59,639,692.62	130,191,647.33	12,722,944.53
Maturities	31,666,457.87	27,164,997.41	101,000,000.00	14,200,000.00	115,713,300.00
Relief	37,000,000.00	24,000,000.00	28,000,000.00	38,000,000.00	16,137,042.12
Silver .....	.....	3,500,000.00	300,000.00	2,500,000.00	.....
Miscellaneous	2,582,374.58	5,752,132.19	5,639,469.76	16,671,336.85	10,648,636.37
Total reported expenditures.....	\$1,081,800,860.22	\$848,878,648.44	\$780,789,742.87	\$924,269,204.08	\$560,508,475.62
Less—					
Reimbursements from U. S. credits to other Gov- ernments .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	19,302,357.55
Dollar payments by U. S. for foreign currencies..	.....	321,830,365.86	370,445,000.00	332,862,870.02	300,000.00
Net expenditures	\$1,081,800,860.22	\$527,048,282.58	\$410,344,742.87	\$591,406,334.06	\$540,906,118.07

expended by war periods and for designated purposes, is shown in the table on the left.

The actual net cash advanced to France was \$2,966,028,442.45, so that it appears that \$155,477,895.35 reported to the United States Treasury by France, though it was derived from other than Treasury sources, represented French repayments or unused credits.

Foreign currencies required for American war expenditures abroad were provided by the foreign Governments "under an arrangement whereby the dollar equivalent of the amounts so provided was made available to the respective foreign Governments for use to meet their war expenditures in the United States, and thus the needs of these Governments for advances from the United States were reduced by a corresponding amount." From January, 1918, till Nov. 15, 1920, the United States used 5,711,941,418.08 francs, equivalent to \$1,025,438,235.88. On May 31, 1920, France acknowledged an indebtedness of \$177,149,866.86 additional and the United States one of 1,938,604,417.25 francs. The amount of money spent by the Americans in France on that showing amounted to 7,650,545,835 francs. Until March,

1919, the franc exchange was pegged and French money was practically at par; by Dec. 18, 1919, it had fallen in value 49 per cent.

Under an act of July 9, 1918, the Secretaries of War and the Navy made three contracts with France for the sale of surplus war material. These ten-year contracts expire between Aug. 1, 1929, and May 9, 1930, and involve \$407,341,145.01. Interest at 5 per cent. has been paid as it became due.¹

In the interval between the preparation of the above tables in 1920 and Nov. 15, 1924, various adjustments of principal on the main debt had been made. The following tabulation of Nov. 15, 1924, shows the French debt:²

TOTAL FRENCH DEBT OBLIGATION

Cash advances	\$2,933,171,672.48
Accrued interest	796,711,537.08
War material purchases.....	407,341,145.01
Total.....	\$4,137,224,354.57

The principal indebtedness to the United States is listed by France as part of the "political debt," of which the other part is held by Great Britain. The British credit is represented by French Treasury bonds, the accrued interest on which is added in French accounts. The American credit is made up of Treasury advances evidenced by notes, on which French accounts record no interest details. The "commercial

FRENCH PUBLIC EXTERNAL DEBT

1. Political debt—	
Advances by United States Treasury.....	\$2,933,265,232
Bonds handed to British Treasury.....	£619,602,000
2. Commercial debt—	
United States:	
1920-45 8% loan.....	\$84,775,600
1921-41 7½% loan.....	75,896,000
Lyon, Bordeaux, Marseille 1916-34 6% loans	40,586,000
Cession of war material.....	407,341,145
Anglo-French 1930-40 4½% loan....	13,853
1917-27 loan	2,110,000
1924-49 7% loan.....	100,000,000
Great Britain:	
Treasury bonds, Bank of England....	£52,500,000
Cession of war material.....	7,476,069
Japan, loan and bonds, paid in 1924.. (yen)	70,000,000
Bank credits:	
Spain	(pesetas) 339,500
Netherlands	(florins) 54,300,000
Argentina	(gold pesos) 19,425,795
Uruguay	\$5,000,000
Canada	\$5,730,000
Egypt	(£t.) 2,000,000

debt" is being operated normally as to payment of interest, sinking fund, and so forth. French foreign public indebtedness is as follows:

The external debt in gold francs, including accrued interest on the American "political debt" up to Nov. 15, 1924, is as follows:

Political debt—	Gold Francs
American advances	15,201,940,391
Interest on American advances.	4,029,039,283
Bonds in British Treasury.....	15,624,773,780
Total.....	34,855,753,454
Commercial debt	5,667,776,000

The commercial debt, held largely by banks and investors, is being kept up as to interest and sinking funds and in general presents no special problem, since the carrying charges are budgeted in the debt service. The largest single item in it, however, the cession of American war material, \$407,341,145, has no sinking fund offsetting principal. The interest runs at 5 per cent. and has been paid to the American Treasury as it be-

¹The War Department sales of material in France amounted to a total of \$822,000,000. More than half of this amount was represented by sales to private purchasers. The French Government states that the property bought by it has yielded only \$220,000,000 on resale.

²From Exhibit 38, Report of Secretary of Treasury, 1924.

came due. The amount of this debt is evidenced by three notes due in 1929 and 1930, at which times refunding plans will have to be discussed between the Governments unless some general scheme is worked out at an earlier date. The corresponding British credits are, I understand, in the same condition, the notes coming due, however, in 1924-29.

It therefore appears that the French debt problem involves only the United States and Great Britain. Assuming that the war material items will be handled commercially, the problem involves 35,000,000,000 gold francs, or 122,500,000,000 paper francs on a depreciation of 3.5. The French accounts carry the nominal titles, but in the figure line print "mémoire," which in French book-keeping indicates that the item must be carried for completeness, but the accountant does not know its value.

In considering the American credits against France, it is well to bear in mind that France has a series of exactly comparable credits outstanding. Soon after the outbreak of the war advances of funds for materials were made to certain of her allies. These were in cash, in Government securities, by the opening of credits or by the direct delivery of war materials. Originally such advances were made by the Treasury, but the Parliament later began passing decrees authorizing them. In 1924 the total authorizations had reached the sum of 15,539,425,500 francs, there being no further advances in contemplation beyond those already authorized. The 800,000,000 franc credits extended to Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia in 1924, which excited so much comment, were of this character. The advances are usable entirely in the purchase of materials from French firms and the French Government makes payment to the firm, not the foreign Government. Thus the transaction is really internal, but gives an external credit, which is the prime requisite for international settlements.

The portion of these advances incurred during the war and immediately afterward, and which are bracketed as a

credit offsetting the British and American debits, amounted on Nov. 15, 1923, to 13,767,000,000 francs, distributed as follows:

	Million Francs
Russia	5,862.8
Belgium	3,772.2
Yugoslavia	1,740.3
Rumania	1,077.8
Greece	772.0
Poland	413.5
Czechoslovakia	120.1
Austria	55.0
Prisoner repatriation	3.1
Total	13,767.0

There is little doubt but that France will bring these credits of hers into the serious negotiations for the settlement of her own debts.

The French external debt is a fairly well agreed sum, amounting to about 40,000,000,000 gold francs, including interest. The internal debt lacks clarity of presentation. The most detailed tabulations available are of Dec. 31, 1923, with the totals of which may be compared those given in M. Clémentel's balance sheet of December, 1924, in the now famous "Inventaire de la situation financière de la France" (Inventory of the Financial Situation of France):

FRENCH DEBT SUMMARY, 1923-24

	(Millions of francs)	
	1923	1924
Perpetual or long term ..	143,775	149,395
Short term	39,975	37,174
Floating debt	83,958	91,281
Total	270,708	277,850

A favorable reversion of the figures can be made by adding in the annual estimates of remaining expenses for reconstruction of the devastated regions. The 1923 figure then becomes 303,000,000,000 francs and the 1924 total 299,850,000,000 francs. The difference just about indicates the extent to which French internal finance is improving.

The Government, however, has not confined itself in the "Inventaire" to such limitations. In that document it capitalized the cost of State annuities, pensions and so forth under the title of "dette viagère" at 64,500,000,000 francs,

capitalized military and civil expenses at 5 per cent., giving totals respectively of 111,000,000,000 and 146,000,000,000 francs, or an additional capital sum of 321,500,000,000 francs on these items alone. At sight it seems curious that a Government should find liabilities for itself under the circumstances. As Yves Guyot, an excellent economist but no better than the French Government commands, says, "capitalizations of this sort are justified only if amortization charges are counted in for each year."¹ The "Inventaire" presentation does not aid foreign loans, even if it does not hinder them.

There seems to be an explanation of this magnifying of the burdens of the State, an explanation of internal importance. The "Inventaire" presents a State balance sheet purporting to show the assets of France and its liabilities. Capitalizations are included on both sides. The assets are shown at 796,830,000,000 francs, of which 599,500,000,000 is capitalized taxation, indicating an annual taxation income of 29,975,000,000 francs per year. Capitalizing running expenses under liabilities gives an offset and probably an argument well understood by the French financial mind for increasing the taxation assets. If the "Inventaire" has that effect it will serve a useful purpose, but Guyot's hope that the experiment will not be repeated remains sound. "If a company employed this method to justify the distribution of dividends," he says, "its managers would be found guilty of declaring fictitious dividends."

French public finance has some features peculiar to itself. Budgetary deficits in the past have been normal, due to a constantly increasing demand for rentes (Government bonds) for investment purposes. Direct taxation has been unpopular, especially with the peasant, and collections have been incomplete. Indirect taxation has been expanded, Government monopolies contributing to the possibilities in this direction. Income tax assessments numbered 5,692,570 in the eight years, 1916-23, the

value of the assessments being 6,589,043,300 francs, or about 1,150 francs per person assessed. There are twelve annexed budgets to the main budget, representing State services which produce some income; their deficits affect the main budget to a slight extent. To us the French seem to be overaddicted to computing accounts on a capitalized basis. This is due to the well-defined ambition of the individual to attain a financial position enabling him to live off his annuities. In the 1925 budget, capitalization has been applied to the debt service, to which some 2,500,000,000 francs is now added, representing the State's pension obligations. The annual cost of pensions has been added to the debt service, although the capital sum will never have to be repaid.

Aside from all the facts involved in this debt question, there is a further group of factors to take into account—the attitude of the parties concerned. First of all there is sentiment. In reality the United States did not go crusading into the war; it went on provocation and to defend its institutions first rather than last. It spent freely, but it was typically American that, though it was paying for others' meals and gunpowder, it made very certain that it gave the orders. It eased its own tensions with sentimental outbursts against the enemy and toward the allies, but these never overshadowed severely practical business. The French were quite different. They made it uncomfortable for President Wilson until he went into the devastated regions and made a speech in which he said that France was "the frontier of liberty." Since then the French have expected dividends on that phrase. The capitalization of sentiment, of ideas, coupled with extremely fine detailed execution, are outstanding characteristics of the French.

The two countries differ distinctly in regard to figures. American bookkeeping is a coldly impersonal, microscopic picture of a state of affairs. French bookkeeping—quite the same mathematically—is a warm, logical presenta-

¹Jurnal des economistes, 84, p. 20.

tion of an idea. For years the French budget separated ordinary from extraordinary expenses, the latter being expenses not as obvious as the former. The practice was defended as correct, scientific, and so forth. When reconstruction began, the cost was placed in a "recoverable budget," which the French people actually believed for several years was not their burden, but simply a budgetary measure of German perfidy. Then the Government shifted and included the recoverable budget in the regular one, so that it helped to account for the actual deficit. Imagine the United States Treasury setting aside the foreign debts for such a separate handling.

Taxation is the weak point of the French financial mentality and, consequently, of the fiscal system. Paying taxes is the last thing the Frenchman does of his own accord, just as buying national bonds is his first instinct. Indirect taxation is a possibility; it remains to be seen whether direct taxation, in the sense and to the degree which the American knows it, is a possibility. Direct taxation, however, is increasing and is running above the estimates. While it amounted to only 25 per cent. of the receipts in January, 1925, the 599,906,000 francs collected directly in that month represented a 50 per cent. increase over the corresponding item in January, 1924. Direct taxation in 1924 attained a total of 5,807,268,200 francs, or 21 per cent. of receipts. Contrast these figures with those of the United States for the fiscal year 1924, when the Treasury derived 69.67 per cent. from internal revenue, about two-thirds, 45.92 per cent., being from direct income and profits tax. In 1924 the French income from corresponding sources was over 90 per cent. of the total, but the direct taxation represented less than 20 per cent. On the other hand, the French debt charge was over 57 per cent. of the year's revenues, while the American debt charge, including sinking fund, was only 39.88 per cent. of the expendi-

tures chargeable against ordinary receipts.

Only since the advent of the Herriot Government has France really started to pay taxes. The taxation system in vogue is built on the scheme of avoiding the pain of paying direct imposts. Out of a total of 16,830,000,000 francs of taxation receipts from January to August, 1924, only 2,887,000,000 francs came from direct payments. It is said that the bulk of such receipts comes from Paris and the cities; the peasant keeps his money. An instance is cited of a farmer with 300,000 francs income paying 300 francs taxes. The great increase in payments made in recent years simply means that taxes levied are actually being collected. The 1925 scale of income taxation, which raises the exemption from 6,000 to 7,000 francs, does not apply a real surtax. On 10,000 francs the tax is 2 per cent. Up to 100,000 an addition of .01 franc per 100 above 10,000; the addition is .01 franc per 200 up to 500,000, and .01 franc per 500 beyond that, though no tax shall exceed 50 per cent. of income. The system actually in force is higher for this year, but would show reductions in later years. For example, a 100,000 franc income in 1925 under the present system would pay 10,896 francs, but in 1929 only 8,952 francs. Under the proposed system the annual levy would be the same for all years, 9,579 francs.

There is every prospect that French taxation is now set on sound bases, consistent with French fiscal methods, and that tax collections will be brought up substantially to the level of expenditures. The progress made in tax collection is shown in the following figures of the French Bureau of Information:

(Millions of francs.)			
1919.....	8,627	1923.....	20,547
1920.....	13,310	1924.....	24,759
1921.....	15,780	1925.....	28,000
1922.....	17,536		

Among the favorable factors are the revenues from the devastated region,

*Estimated from cable reports.

FRENCH BUDGETARY DEFICITS

(Billions of francs; 000,000,000 omitted.)

Year	Receipts	Expenditures	Deficits
1914.....	4.2	10.4	6.2
1915.....	4.1	22.1	18.0
1916.....	4.9	36.8	31.9
1917.....	6.2	44.6	38.4
1918.....	6.8	56.6	49.8
1919.....	11.6	54.2	42.6
1920.....	20.1	58.1	38.0
1921.....	23.1	51.1	28.0
1922.....	24.2	48.9	24.7
1923.....	27.7	45.8	18.1
1924.....	31.1	40.2	9.1
1925.....	32.6	32.5	1..

¹The figures given are the totals as reduced by the Senate, some of which were acceptable to the Government, up to April 1.

representing normally at least one-fourth of the industrial activity of the country. The revenues from the ten provinces in 1919 were 980,000,000 francs, but in 1924 they had increased to some 4,500,000,000. Reconstruction is scheduled to be completed in 1925.

The above table shows the budgetary deficits which the French Government has incurred during and since the war, including the "recoverable budget."

These statistics from M. Clémentel's "Inventaire," except 1925, show several interesting facts. The war was fought on borrowed money, without any effort, comparable to the British or American, to pay from current taxation. The post-

war expenditures were not sharply restricted. The 1919-24 recoverable budget expenses—leaving out of consideration the fiscal propriety of that budget—accounted for only 103,000,000,000 francs out of total deficits of 160,500,000,000. About 35 per cent. of the post-war deficit was not due to devastation of any sort. The comparative ease of spending borrowed money and extravagant expectations of German payments account for the phenomenon in part; the fall of the franc was also a contributory cause. It is remarkable, nevertheless, that out of a total of 304,800,000,000 francs in deficits from 1914 to 1925, more than half was incurred after the end of the war.

The following table shows expenditures, revenues, debt service and defense charges in millions of paper francs and certain percentages on annual revenues.

The payments of Germany under what is now officially called the Dawes plan are certain to be made up at least until its third year, when they begin to depend upon German budget operations. The first year, Sept. 1, 1924-Aug. 31, 1925, calls for a payment of 1,000,000,000 gold marks, and that amount can be counted on. Deducted from the total before the amount available for reparation is determined are nine prior charges, eight of which are applicable this year, and in most of which France has a share. The French (*Le Temps*, Feb. 4) have worked these out in a manner with which I do not agree in

FRENCH GOVERNMENT FINANCE¹

(Millions of paper francs)

Year	Expenditures	Revenues	Debt Service	Per Cent. on Revenues	Defense	Per Cent. on Revenues
1903.....	3,597	3,668	924	25	1,114	30
1913.....	5,067	4,900	958	19	1,918	39
1916.....	36,848	4,900	3,434	70	26,348	529
1918.....	56,649	6,800	7,189	106	41,370	608
1920.....	58,142	19,800	15,201	77	10,286	52
1921.....	52,023	21,500	16,000	74	8,702	40
1922.....	48,700	24,700	14,500	59	4,600	19
1923.....	36,984	24,500	15,263	62	4,700	19
1924.....	32,319	27,575	16,548	58	5,319	18.5
1925.....	32,496	32,674	19,500	60	5,500	16.8

¹Table adapted from "French Finance, Governmental and Private," by David S. Green (United States Trade Information Bulletin No. 290), p. 7. The discrepancies between this and the preceding table do not affect the ratios. Both sets of figures are official, but compiled at different times, this table being the earlier.

PRIORITIES CHARGEABLE AGAINST FIRST DAWES ANNUITY

	Gold Marks
Service of external loan.....	80,000,000
Commission expenses (Reparation Commission, Dawes organization, Interallied Rhine-land High Commission, Military Commission of Control).	27,250,000
European Commission of Danube	217,000
Pre-May 1, 1921, occupation expenses	15,000,000
Armies of occupation.....	160,000,000
Belgian war debt (5% of remainder)	35,876,650
Restitution (1% of remainder) ..	7,175,330
U. S. claims (2¼% of present remainder)	15,175,823
Total priority charges.....	340,694,803
Available for reparation quotas.....	659,305,197
The French share will be:	
The French 1924-25 receipts—	
Reparation (52% of net remainder)	342,838,702
Army of occupation.....	110,000,000
Pre-May 1, 1921, occupation share	8,550,000
Reimbursement of Belgian war debt	16,503,259
Restitution	5,166,237
Commission expenses, about....	17,000,000
Total receivable by France....	500,058,198

some details, but which I transcribe above, the differences being only minor.

The French receipts from the Dawes plan through Aug. 31, 1925, are therefore to be about \$119,061,475. Beginning about March, 1926, the French percentage will be increased, as a result of the cessation of the present Belgian priority, to 54.46 per cent. of the total distributable for reparation, instead of the current 52 per cent. According to my estimates, the total so distributable in 1925-26 will be about 825,000,000 gold marks, due to increased German payments and reductions in priority charges. The French total receipts in 1925-26, then, will be above 560,000,000 gold marks. By the fifth, or standard, year, Sept. 1, 1928, to Aug. 31, 1929, the total distributable

on reparation account will be above 2,000,000,000 gold marks, and the French total receipts will be close to 1,200,000,000 gold marks, or \$285,714,286. In the year ending Aug. 31, 1925, the French budget will be aided from Germany to the extent of 2,250,000,000 francs paper, and in 1928-29, at current rates of exchange, by 5,425,000,000 francs paper.

In M. Clémentel's "Inventaire" the receipts from Germany are capitalized as 103,900,000,000 francs, representing an annual income of 5,185,000,000 francs. That is a present value computation, corresponding sufficiently closely to the standard year returns, which are computed above on the current value basis.

France has created, quite unintentionally, a somewhat misleading impression regarding her defense services. The average American does not look beyond the fact that the French Army is the largest in the world, which in reality is a measure of apprehension rather than of menace. Probably the most serious international phase of French military conditions is the elaborate development of the "supreme military authority," constituting a sort of super-hierarchy, which is sometimes very influential with the civil Government. The total army of nearly 750,000 officers and men in 1923 included

FRENCH ARMY EFFECTIVES, 1923 BUDGET¹

	Officers	Non-Com. Officers and Men
Home forces	21,507	363,518
Colonial forces	4,371	102,786
Morocco	2,492	67,092
Saar Basin	194	5,691
Army of the Levant.....	1,046	26,264
Special missions abroad..	29	45
Troops of occupation ² ...	5,351	143,653
Military and Air Commission control.....	110	407
Grand total.....	35,100	709,456

¹Digested from Armaments Yearbook.

²The 1,755 officers and 50,374 men included here as in the Ruhr were reduced by about 35,000 men by the draft budget of 1924.

about one-fourth of that number in native troops. The number of troops in occupied Rhine and Ruhr territories is also a matter frequently commented upon. The effectives in 1923, corrected in accordance with information contained in the full table, are summarized in the table on the previous page.

The effect of the eighteen months' service and other circumstances now give a total French Army personnel of just over 600,000.

The corresponding figures for naval establishment are shown at the foot of this page.

The French expenditure on defense in 1922 and 1923 required about the same percentage of the total budget as did the corresponding American expense. In 1924 the French percentage was 15 and the American was 19.42 per cent. The difference between the net and gross expenditures, which includes items for other purposes or chargeable to other accounts, has been decreasing, and in 1924 was under 1,000,000,000 francs.

The table at the head of the opposite page shows three years of defense expenditure.

It will be noted that air services are not listed. Expenditures on that account are included in the budgets of the three Ministries. In addition, appropriations for aviation are also included in the budget of Public Works,

and these were regarded as part of the defense expenditure by the 1923 report of the Senate's Finance Commission. The figures were 126,550,746 francs in 1922, 133,153,444 francs in 1923 and 138,463,380 francs in 1924. In the latter year, 46,942,000 francs represented subsidies to private enterprises.

The allegation that "France has made a lot out of the war" can be disposed of in few words. Persons who make the assertion calculate the square mileage of territorial "acquisitions," and apparently let their imaginations do the rest on the basis of the taxable value of landed property with which they are familiar. The advantages France has secured are (1) the addition of some 2,000,000 taxable inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine to the population; (2) the addition of Alsace-Lorraine's natural resources to the general French natural resources; (3) the acquisition of the Saar mines, charged on the reparation books at 400,000,000 gold marks; (4) the opportunity to maintain troops at German expense in occupied territory. The real advantage lies in the enrichment of French industrial resources and the creation of an amount of taxable property and overturn of trade, the computation of which—if possible—requires the subtlest kind of commercial statistical methods.

The Lorraine iron mines may be taken as an illustration. They have a produc-

FRENCH NAVAL ESTABLISHMENT

	Number	Tonnage	Depreciated Tonnage ¹
Battleships and battle cruisers.....	9	195,720	71,763
Coast defense ships, monitors.....	..	.....	.....
Aircraft carriers .....	..	.....	.....
Cruisers and light cruisers.....	18 ²	163,958	16,377
Destroyers and torpedo boats.....	78 ³	45,915	13,308
Submarines	48 ⁴	30,057	14,081
Sloops and gunboats.....	87	125,884	51,130
Total.....		561,534	166,659

Budgetary effective personnel, 58,537.

¹Depreciated tonnage as of Jan. 1, 1924, is calculated for battleships, battle cruisers, coast defense ships, aircraft carriers, sloops and gunboats at a reduction in original tonnage at the rate of 1-20 per annum from date of completion; for cruisers and light cruisers at 1-17 per annum, and for torpedo craft and submarines at 1-12 per annum.

²Plus two under construction.

³Plus eighteen under construction.

⁴Plus twenty-one under construction.

FRENCH DEFENSE EXPENDITURE

(000 omitted)

	1922 Actual	1923 Actual	1924 Voted
Ministry of War.....	5,159,217	4,758,851	3,533,066
Ministry of Marine.....	1,189,621	1,056,813	1,065,831
Ministry of Colonies.....	264,580	260,172	241,272
Recoverable—			
(a) Army of occupation.....	362,348	792,904	490,963
(b) Reconstruction, &c.	22,603	20,320	14,142
Total.....	6,998,369	6,889,060	5,345,274
Index	100%	98%	76%
Index, pre-war price level.....	100%	77%	51%

tion of 21,000,000 tons per year and so increase France's annual production to 45,000,000 tons, of which two-thirds is consumed at home. In 1910 France was second in iron production to Germany in Europe; now she ranks first. She has a balance for export of 15,000,000 tons per year. In 1913 she exported 10,000,000 tons, so that the evident post-war increase is 5,000,000. The Government can lay industrial taxes upon the increase; the additional export will affect the trade balance, with beneficial repercussions; and new industries may develop. No one has even attempted to take account of all the factors in such a change in connection with public finance.

As to "aggrandizement" abroad the facts are that France acquired no overseas territory, but has B mandates for Cameroons and Togoland and an A mandate for Syria and Lebanon. The B mandates are strictly trusts under close supervision. The A mandate is freer and more autonomous. The following table shows the state of the Syria-Lebanon budget and French expenditures on its own account for several years.

While Syria and the Lebanon have exceptional circumstances to account

for the amounts actually spent, any overseas acquisition of any State is likely to afford a "balance" of the same sort.

French financial conditions are on the whole reassuring. All the statistics indicate that improvement is now continuous. The dead weight of the debt charges and the problem of refunding 22,000,000,000 francs of internal obligations coming due in the immediate future are outstanding difficulties. The 1925 budget being really balanced, other improvements would follow. For the one never-failing phenomenon in France is that everybody individually spends less than his income. With the Government taking its necessary quota in taxation, the country will continue to increase its wealth and thus to improve its condition.

As already pointed out, the French view financial matters with a more sentimental eye than Americans. Their thesis on the debt, as M. Clémentel has recently expressed it, is: "If one abandons juridical grounds and considers the problem from the higher points of view of cooperation and equity, strict justice would seem to require the general pooling of war expenditures and their divi-

SYRIA-LEBANON BUDGET AND EXPENDITURES

	Budget Status	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Instruction, Hygiene, &c.	Army Expenses
1919.....		50,000,000	.....	78,000,000
1920.....		185,000,000	.....	564,000,000
1921.....	4,305,000	120,000,000	76,100,000	740,000,000
1922.....	—65,000	50,000,000	19,556,000	400,000,000
1923.....	168,000	.....	.....	.....

sion among the Allies proportionally to the riches of each nation and without consideration for special engagements which the exigencies of the moment imposed." The French cite logically the Liberty Loan act which voted money for "prosecuting the war" and emphasize these words of Secretary Glass: "For substantially a year we had no considerable military forces in Europe and we were lending the money needed to provide the supplies purchased from our people of the materials necessary for the armies of the Allies, who were holding the Germans in the meantime." The two arguments derived from that statement are that, on entering the war, we first send money instead of men, both of which should be viewed alike; and that the American insistence on the money lent being expended here added materially to the sum total. Americans have never discussed the first point. On the second they say that American supplies were the sole ones available and the cost would have been the same, perhaps larger, if the Allies had not purchased through Government channels. The advances to France up to Dec. 31, 1917, amounted to \$1,081,800,860. A glance at the first table will indicate the difficulty in making a division between advances that might be regarded as American prosecution of the war and those for French purposes. For instance, in what category would loans to peg exchange fall?

A widespread American view seems to be that the French must acknowledge the debt as it stands without any quibbling, whereupon the United States is willing to be generous. The French rather resent that attitude, which is regarded as patronizing. It was first reflected in a note from the Treasury to the French High Commissioner dated March 8, 1919, in respect to a report that the

debts were coming up at the Peace Conference. At that time Mr. Rathbone wrote to M. de Billy:

I have to state most emphatically that the Treasury * * * will not assent to any discussion at the Peace Conference or elsewhere, of any plan or arrangement for the release, consolidation or reapportionment of the obligations of foreign Governments held by the United States.

You will appreciate also that the Treasury cannot contemplate continuance of advances to any allied Government which is lending its support to any plan which would create uncertainty as to its due repayment of advances made to it by the United States Treasury.

About \$1,500,000,000 was loaned to France after that date, offset by some \$600,000,000 of American franc purchases. France has always wanted to discuss reparation and all interallied debts together. She is no longer constrained in that desire by the expectation of further aid which existed in 1919. The United States Government has persistently vetoed such a proposal, not going into detail, but citing the limitations imposed by act of Congress. The situation has, however, undergone a change. Great Britain's American debt is funded and being liquidated according to contract. London is consequently free from any American pressure upon a debtor. But Great Britain is also a creditor of France. Whether or not a debt discussion between the three might take place, it is certain that Great Britain will not assent to any settlement of her French claim less advantageous than the American settlement. It is well for us to keep that in mind, because it means in practice that the whole French "political debt," 35,000,000,000 gold francs, will be handled by France as a whole. Great Britain is willing to reduce her claim. The United States has not officially expressed itself on that point.

The War Between Church and State in France

Both Phases

By Charles Guignebert, Professor at the Sorbonne, Paris, on
Behalf of the State, and Georges Goyau, Member of the
French Academy, on Behalf of the Church

This article and the article following, each written by an eminent Frenchman from opposing viewpoints, throw light on both sides of the bitter controversy now going on in France between the Government, headed by Premier Herriot, and the prelates of the Catholic Church in France, supported by Catholic sentiment in the Parliament and throughout the nation. This controversy, in its earliest phase, began with the laws against the "congregations," or religious orders, passed in 1901, and the law of separation of Church and State, passed in 1905. In its recent phase it was a result of Premier Herriot's Ministerial declaration issued when he took power (May, 1924), in which he pledged himself to suppress the French Embassy at the Vatican and to secure the execution of all laws governing the congregations, or religious orders.

The Catholic veterans of the war were especially aroused over the implied threat to expel from France members of congregations who had returned to fight for France. The movement of revolt began to crystallize when the Government announced that the law for separation of Church and State would soon be applied to Alsace-Lorraine, despite the promise made by Marshal Joffre when the French occupied the recovered provinces that all their customs and traditions would be respected.

The movement took on an organized character at the end of October, 1924, when General de Castelnau and other leaders of the Catholic Church organized the "National Catholic Federation," which arranged protest meetings all over France. These demonstrations were held in 360 cities and towns and were attended by never less than 3,000 people and in some cases by more than 60,000 people.

The debate on the Vatican issue began in the Chamber on Jan. 19. A violent attack was made by a prominent radical Deputy on the Pope's alleged pro-German policy during the war. M. Aristide Briand, seven times Premier of France, pleaded with Premier Herriot not to sever all relations with the Holy See merely to fulfill an election pledge. M. Herriot replied to his critics on Jan. 22. Far from his showing any conciliatory attitude, it was stated that "at no time in the last twenty years has a French Chief of State attacked the Vatican and the Pope with such oral ferocity." Relations with the Pope, M. Herriot declared, could not be worse. He concluded: "We have nothing to lose. Every nation is free and we do not have to receive orders from the Pope."

On Jan. 26, however, M. Herriot announced that the relations of Alsace-Lorraine to the Papacy, as adjusted by the old Napoleonic Concordat with Rome, would continue for the present unchanged. This was interpreted as an attempt to allay the verbal onslaughts of the Catholics. The statement was confirmed on Feb. 3 by the Chamber of Deputies' vote to maintain a chargé d'affaires to represent Alsace-Lorraine at the Vatican. The final tie between the State and the Papal See, however, was severed by a vote of 315 to 250 approving the Government's proposal to abolish the French diplomatic embassy to the Vatican.

Serious Catholic-Communist clashes took place at Marseilles on Feb. 10. Two persons were killed and 100 wounded. Some 30,000 Breton Catholics (the Bretons are among the most religious people of modern France) paraded at Rennes on Feb. 15 and listened to fiery denunciations of the Herriot policy by Archbishop Charrot and other pro-Catholic orators.

This demonstration was followed (Feb. 17) by the sending of a formal protest to the Premier by the six French Cardinals. The vote of the Chamber of Deputies was attacked and it was

declared that in the Senate the Catholics would "find a majority of men patriotic enough to put the interest of France above party politics." The Premier replied on the same day by repeating his often-expressed view that "the question of the suppression of the embassy at the Vatican is nothing more than a question of political regulation. It does not in any way involve the question of the respect due to the Catholic faith."

By March 14 the "open warfare" was confined for the time being to Alsace, where it was reported on this date that Archbishop Ruch, in protest against the institution by the Government of interdenominational schools at Colmar providing secular education for Catholic, Protestant and Jewish children alike, had ordered a three days' strike by all school children. The Government at once took steps to declare this strike illegal and to enforce the law.

Meanwhile, on March 12, a manifesto was issued by the Cardinals and Bishops of the Catholic Church in France, protesting against the alleged injustice "of the so-called interdenominational laws" and discussing "the measures to be taken to combat them." This manifesto aroused violent reactions in the Senate and Chamber. On March 13 one radical group adopted a resolution declaring that this manifesto was "an appeal to insurrection against law and an appeal to civil war," and urging all Republicans to take up the challenge. On the same day General de Castelnau, organizer of the anti-governmental pro-Catholic demonstrations, declared that the movement of revolt was

an absolutely legal form of protest against persecution of Catholics, and we are going to continue it. The contention of the political groups that we are inciting the people to rebellion and fomenting civil war is only a pretext to justify the aggressions they themselves have in view.

An extraordinary culmination to this violence of reaction throughout the country was added on March 20, when the Deputies in the Chamber concluded their discussion of the situation created by the Cardinals' protest. A tumult, marked by bodily conflicts, leading to a scene unprecedented in the Chamber's history, was precipitated by the Premier's severe criticism of the Cardinals' protest. Two Deputies were suspended and another expelled by the guard. The Premier again stressed his view that the Vatican decision was a purely political measure and constituted no attack on religion. Both the Cardinals' declaration and the religious demonstrations organized throughout the country, he declared, were aimed against the Republican Government, against the laws ruling the relation between Church and State and against the spirit of modern society. He charged that appeals had been made for open rebellion. By a vote of 325 against 257, the radical majority carried a resolution affirming civil over religious supremacy, and further gave a vote of confidence to the Premier. This was the situation when these pages went to press.—Editor CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

I. IN BEHALF OF THE STATE

By CHARLES GUIGNEBERT

Professor of the History of Christianity at the Sorbonne, Paris

AFTER about ten years of peaceful relations, Church and State are once more at war in France. The situation has reached a crisis which may produce serious complications. The loser in this contest will have to pay a heavy price in prestige. If the Church loses, its influence in the State will be greatly diminished.

To understand the momentous nature of this conflict one must go back some fifteen years. Certain essential truths stand out which are often misunderstood and which should be clearly stated here. These are as follows:

1. France is not a country of deep

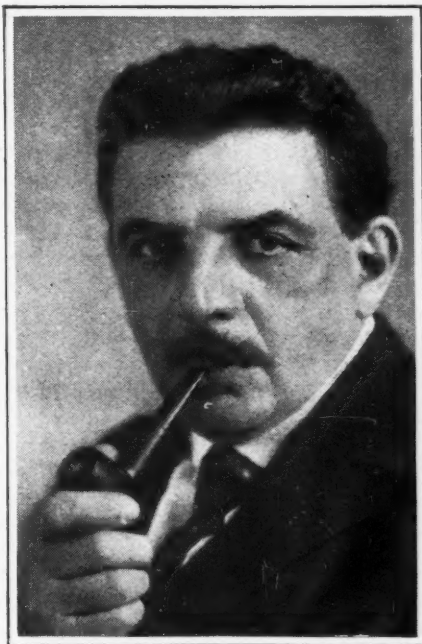
Catholic feeling, but only, for the greater part, a country of Catholic habits. "By speaking too much of a Catholic France," a Jesuit Father once wrote, "one may tend to forget reality. That reality is that the Church possesses only 10,000,000 adherents, including women and children, and the rest of the nation—an overwhelming majority—are Catholics only in external practice."

2. France is not a deeply religious country. To most people in France, religion is not a life, but merely a label. As proof of this, one may recall the fact that the great shock produced by

the World War, and which at first gave high hope to the Church, failed to lead to any religious revival throughout the nation. The French people speedily forgot their faith, as well-informed Catholics admit. The number of educated people who returned to the Church and who are inclined to boast of this return is not large, nor is it encouraging. Such returns to religious practice lead mature men and youths, who have small familiarity with religious dogma, to blind faith and pragmatic theories, of which one cannot expect too much.

3. France is not an intolerant country. The faith of the French, besides not being deep, is not fanatic. Their anti-clericalism, i. e., their reluctance to let the Church intervene actively in public life, especially in politics, should not be taken as hostility toward religion. This argument, which is true when applied to the nation and to the Government, even to the most radical or Left type of Government, is also true when applied to Freemasonry, which Catholics imagine to be their deadly enemy and the source of most of their tribulations.

4. France is not divided by religious dissension. This quarrel, so far as the opponents of the Church are concerned, concerns only the life in the cities. Furthermore, it does not affect the conscience or the rights of the individual. The question, in other words, is not religious but clerical. The Church created a state of confusion in its own favor. This confusion it is bound to make, since it believes that it is entrusted by God with the mission of organizing and directing all human life. The Church considers any law that hinders its liberty to interfere in public or private life as an offense toward religion, an act of religious persecution. Facts differ from fancy, and we have to deal with facts. Let us not forget that the republic is founded on the principles of revolution. The Church hates these principles and accuses the Revolution of having deprived her of her influence in the State, an influence which she held until 1789. Since then



P. & A. Photos

EDOUARD HERRIOT
Prime Minister of France

the Catholic Church has tried to regain this position. She has not succeeded; she has even met with defeats, but she has never given up. She maintains, and from her own point of view she is right, that this obstinacy is her duty, coming from her fundamental purpose and her essential constitution. Her opponents accuse her of pursuing a delusion, of denying realities and spending her energies in a dream of the Middle Ages.

THE SEPARATION LAW OF 1905

In 1905 the Government [then headed by Emile Combes as Premier] almost against its own desire, had to impose on the Church the Law of Separation. The Church did not accept the law [often called the Briand law because drafted by Aristide Briand] but had to yield to it. She has never ceased to condemn it. The leading Catholics, under the delusion that a great Catholic faith existed among the French people, hoped that

serious troubles would ensue; that the Government would have to make use of force, and would thus become odious. Nothing of this kind happened. The 1905 elections justified the Government, which took care to reduce to the minimum the strict application of the law. The era of martyrdom did not revive; churches were neither confiscated nor closed. But deprived of her properties, sequestered by the State, since the Public Worship Associations (*Associations cultuelles*) provided by the law, and which were to collect the Church income, were not constituted, deprived of the budget for Public Worship (*Budget des Cultes*), the Catholic Church was in a difficult situation. The State allowed her the use of the buildings, but classed these as "Historic Buildings" and did no more than to keep them under repairs. Most of the clerical activity was absorbed in material cares. Political action, however, was not abandoned, for the Church realized that it had to clarify its position in the State.

Pius X., disgusted with the "rallying" policy advocated by Leo XIII., and which had not averted the catastrophe, tired of compromising with the Catholic "reactionaries," who seemed more inclined to make use of the Church than to serve her, insisted that action be taken only on religious grounds. Unfortunately, it is impossible in France to separate politics from religion, and to constitute a party which would subordinate the former to the latter. The Pope's instructions offered the great advantage of letting Catholics adhere individually to the republic if it would respect the Church's interests. On this point Catholics differed. Some, weary of so many struggles and defeats, would have been satisfied if the State had given them, by legal means, a certain number of concessions and reparations. They wanted to be within the common law and to feel as safe as possible. Others, who called the former class "Liberals," reproached them for sacrificing the sacred interests of religion to a love of peace and comfort. They themselves were ready to go on with the

struggle. They wished to resist the unbearable Republican law—the "*lois scélérates*" (wicked laws) as they called them—that had organized compulsory, free, lay elementary education; that had decided the dissolution and the liquidation of unauthorized "congregations" or monastic orders (Waldeck-Rousseau law, 1901). Those laws which settled the question of the Separation in 1906 and 1907 after the Pope had refused the law of 1905 were commonly called "lay laws." To the Republicans those laws are the Republican régime, and to rebel against them is to rebel against the Republic.

But the Catholics, in 1909, protested that they did not disagree with the Governmental principles; they demanded only a more equitable application of the law as it affected the Church. With this in view they tried to organize a Catholic Party, which would be represented in the Chamber of Deputies by spokesmen who would take the interest of the Church to heart. They hoped to have Catholic deputies elected in regions such as Brittany, Department of the North, Auvergne, Savoy and so forth, and in order that the candidates should adopt their program, the Catholics offered strong support to the future Deputy, when the elections came.

This was the campaign of the Catholic Unions. In every parish all the active elements were grouped in a Parish Union (*Union Paroissiale*). The representatives of the Union formed, with the Vicar of the Canton, a Cantonal Union (*Union Cantonale*) whose delegates, under the Bishop, formed a Diocesan Union (*Union Diocésaine*). All the Diocesan Unions were confederated in a National Union (*Union Nationale*). That very seductive plan existed only in theory. Many a "Curé," afraid of the non-clerical elements, was reluctant to form a Parish Union; many a Bishop did not consent to a Diocesan Union, and very soon Rome, always hostile to Gallicanism,* revealed that she was against these unions.

*The collective name for various theories of the old régime maintaining that the Church

On the other hand, some Unions declared that they would not play a political rôle. The candidates knew beforehand that they would not be elected without a program. A Deputy who is purely and fundamentally Catholic is not to be found in France.

The Union movement, started in 1907, did not succeed. In 1914 the Unionists did not present one single candidate. A tendency to agreement, a new "rallying policy," seemed to be imposed on the Church. As was to be expected, the opportunist Catholics endorsed the Unionist plan. Their aim was the same; they differed not on the program but on the method. They wanted to obtain concessions from their adversaries through flattery. In 1914 their policy was strengthened, for the elections were a defeat for the Right, who take their support from Catholic circles. The Liberal Catholics took the advantage, and on the eve of the World War some politicians belonging to the Left thought the time had come for reconciliation and peaceful agreement. It was only the Unions that had frightened some Republicans, who were unfamiliar with clerical affairs and who exaggerated the importance of the movement. In 1914 some feared the Unions as much as they felt the necessity of peace.

The war for a time put an end to the quarrel. Then came the "Union Sacrée," the splendid accord of all French people in common defense. Undoubtedly it was childish to believe that political and religious dissensions had come to an end. As the Catholics had reached the point of conciliation, the Republicans believed that the essence of clerical opposition resided in the policy of reaction and in ultramontanism. Now that the reaction was appeased and Rome no longer governed, it appeared that the French clergy could

live in the Republic. The Government did not tyrannize.

The Church, it was obvious, could not instantly renounce all her political principles; but could she not in time forget them? Would she not understand that the time had come when she must indulge in no activities beyond her own religious propaganda? The French Government was persuaded of this, for it dealt with conciliatory ecclesiastics and thought that an entente was possible. It did not know the exigencies of the Church arising from her fundamental constitution. The clergy took advantage of the times. The Union Sacrée was, for it, an opportunity to regain the place it had always claimed. Priests reappeared in public ceremonies, in associations, in the armies; they were benevolent and kind, but they were propagandists. Were they always discreet and tactful? On every occasion they rendered service and won great advantages for their cause. The Union Sacrée helped their task and silenced their adversaries. The clergy collaborated with the Government, priests were mobilized, members of the monastic orders came from abroad to join their regiments.

Those facts modified the attitude of the Government toward the Church. When the war ended a new state of affairs was established. Men who had come to fight during the war, whose courage had been praised and recompensed, could not be sent out of their own country if, after they had discarded their soldiers' uniforms, they wished to remain in France.

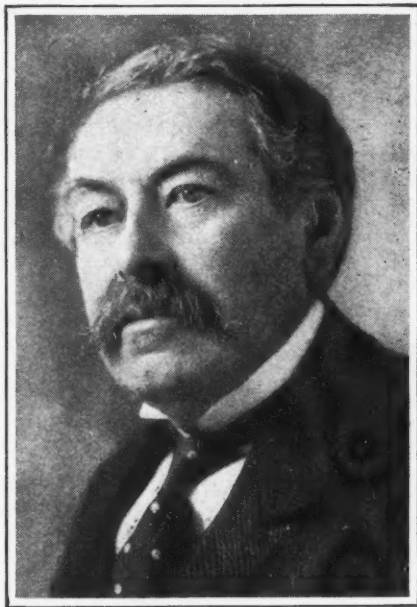
CONFLICT DUE TO MISUNDERSTANDING

We come now to the great misunderstanding out of which the present conflict rose. It was necessary for the Government to maintain a certain reserve in its relations with the Church. Those relations were renewed because of the Union Sacrée. But the Church and the Left Republicans did not stop at the same point. The Church believed, or wanted to believe, that the Union Sacrée would be continued after

and King of France had ecclesiastical rights of their own, independent of the jurisdiction of the Pope. The term was later applied to the position of the Catholic Church in France. Until the repeal of the Concordat in 1905, all French Governments upheld certain "Gallican Liberties."—EDITOR.

the war, and that for the benefit of the country the lay laws ought to be abolished, reverting to the status which had prevailed during the alliance of the Church and State. Both the Church and the State followed the same reasoning. Privately, of course, the Church could not renounce her sectarian principles, and the State could not forsake its lay principles, but by keeping them out of the discussion each party might forget its principles. On the other hand, the Church considered that the tolerance of all "congregations" was the reward due to the heroism of her members. In fact, the "congregations" came back. Little by little, the most dreaded of all to the Left, the Jesuits, who had never stopped teaching under disguise, reappeared. They boasted, as a safeguard, of the sympathies of some military chiefs. The Left was anxious; the Government annoyed. To adopt the principles of "laissez faire" (non-interference) was to encourage clerical hopes, which were not to be satisfied. To seek to interdict, in the name of the laws, as the Left and the Socialists asked, was to be blamed by public opinion, always more impressed by facts than by logical arguments. So the Government pretended to ignore the facts and tried to consolidate the principles by making personal concessions while saying that the laws could not be altered. Instead of what was to be expected from these great precautions, the active Catholics, thinking that those laws were the only obstacles to the Government's adopting a benevolent attitude, renewed their attack against them, calling them indignantly "laws of a régime of spoliation and robbery."

The lead was taken by partisans of the rallying movement and the Opportunists, and they retained their influence at the 1919 election. This was another cause of complication. To make the misunderstanding graver, the Government thought it necessary to form a National bloc against Bolshevism, and summoned the "elements of order" to unite against communism. Although it wanted the support of the



Harris & Ewing

ARISTIDE BRIAND
Former Prime Minister of France

clergy, it had no intention of renouncing lay principles. It imagined that Catholics were resigned to Separation. M. Clemenceau said at the time in Strasbourg that "Rome did not approve of the Catholics' attitude." The Government was all the more induced to cling to its illusions because of the fact that bishops recommended to Catholics to vote for moderate candidates, even lay ones.

Catholics, too, were under an illusion, when they fancied that the State recognized its own defeat in its struggle against the Church and was ready to capitulate. The equivocal result of the election of 1919 made the misunderstanding greater and more protracted. It seemed that the public accepted a movement to the Right while, as a matter of fact, the election had been on Bolshevism only. Catholics wanted to believe that France had renounced the "excess of the Left" and wished for a Union Sacrée, according to the Church's desires. The Government persisted in thinking that the Church was willing to

make the necessary concessions. It opened discussions with the Vatican, received assurances of good-will and promises.

M. Millerand and the majority National bloc had the same illusion, the same desire of peace. So began a misunderstanding, an illusion fortified by secret hopes, an underhanded and imprudent policy, in which impulses of superficial kindness took the place of necessary explanation.

The "Concessionists," as the "Intransigent" Catholics called them, kept the direction of Church policy. They accepted as an *"état de faits"*—a temporary de facto situation—the lay or secular nature of the State. They never missed an opportunity of proclaiming that they did not recognize it *"en droit"* and sought its abrogation by legal ways. Mgr. Dubois, Archbishop of Paris, on whose moderation the Government had great hopes, developed that conception at the Catholic Congress of June, 1922. His intention, he said, was not to break the Union Sacrée. His declaration of war, addressed to the Lay State, was theoretic and only "of principle." The Government believed him and felt no solicitude. When the President of the Republic expressed (Evreux, 1923) his opinion that all loyal French citizens should observe the Union Sacrée, which was so necessary for the welfare of the country, he was favorable to the Church and somewhat defiant of the Left. Furthermore, there was no question of suppressing the lay laws.

HOPES RAISED BY COMPROMISE

The new "rallying movement" politicians had a plan which was examined by the country's leaders after the war. Some articles of that plan were accepted by the National bloc; for instance, the article on the renewal of diplomatic relations with the Vatican, providing that on the conclusion of an accord which would give the Church her place in French law, the Church in exchange would accept the Separation. But some points of the program were on questions that the National bloc could not solve in

favor of the Church; such were the return of all congregations on monastic orders, the support of the State to Catholic schools, and so forth.

Agreement was completed on the two above questions. The Government of M. Poincaré sent an ambassador to the Vatican and a Papal nuncio, Mgr. Ceretti, came to Paris. The French Parliament, in spite of strong opposition from the Left, approved all those measures on Sept. 23, 1920. This was a great success for the Church. The Cabinet hoped to obtain strong security in its relation with Rome. But the legal negotiations were long protracted. The Intransigents led by Cardinal Maurin, Archbishop of Lyons, and Cardinal Andrieux, Archbishop of Bordeaux, raised strenuous opposition. The plan presented by President Poincaré to a committee of jurists was declared legal, but did not meet with the approval of the Pope, who wanted a public discussion. The Government knew that this would reopen a new debate on separation and refused the Pope's request.

The encyclical "Maximam" (January, 1924) authorized and recommended the Diocesan Associations, a system different from the Public Worship Associations created by the Briand law of 1905. The optimism of the National bloc caused it to look upon the new organizations as upon a visible acceptance of the law. The Pope, however, declared that his attitude toward the Law of Separation was the same as that held by Pius X.; he condemned it, and considered the concession made by the State in guaranteeing the Diocesan Associations as a prelude to the granting of complete liberty, which was necessary and due to the Church by divine right. The Government, unsatisfied, pretended to believe that the Papal declaration was only "a way of speaking." This was a mistake. Church politicians thought that the State had submitted. They then used their advantage in favor of "congregations" and schools. They overestimated, however, their own abilities, and their training made it difficult for them to see the

underlying realities. They threw prudence to the winds; first they talked against the lay or secular laws with great violence, then they pushed their claims with intolerable force, unbearable even to the National bloc. Their arguments regarding the schools and the "congregations" were both premature and impudent. Those questions were closely connected. Catholic schools had not the means of supporting, either in numbers or in quality, the teachers they needed and which the "congregations" offered freely.

The Government consented to read a project allowing the return of five missionary congregations. The Clerical press boasted of this, and considered it was only a beginning. At the same time a campaign was carried on against lay schools with their overcrowding, their godless morals and their anarchist teachers. Some teachers were boycotted in Brittany and in the Province of Maine. They also asked to have the budget of elementary education distributed between all schools according to the number of pupils. This constituted the "school proportional distribution." The bolder ones even demanded equality between lay and Catholic schools.

CATHOLICS LOSE IN ELECTION

The Government, filled with goodwill and optimism, spoke of the necessity of maintaining the spirit of "national fraternity." But the Left was anxious. Catholic associations were formed, congresses and meetings were held, all sorts of attempts were made to increase the social, political and intellectual influence of the Church. The Left demanded a stricter application of the law. The National bloc gave no answer. By itself the bloc was not a party; it would not be a Catholic one, and feared the Catholics, with whom, dreading failure in the coming elections, it would not compromise. This is why, in spite of Barrès's report and M. Baudry d'Agson's plan in favor of the "school proportional system," it was not discussed. Impatient Catholics could not do much. The prudent ones thought it

more advisable not to ask too much from the same Parliament; they hoped that, favored by the President, the bloc would triumph. The episcopal instructions for the elections (May, 1924) were to accept for the time being the claim of a lay State, to avoid all alarming questions, to work for the bloc candidates. A subscription was raised for the erection of a church to St. Michael to implore the Archangel's protection. But the May elections were a disaster. The Left bloc, hostile to Catholic action, was triumphant.

After a period of panic the Catholics tried to prove that the elections had not been on the Catholic question. With that dangerous sophism they lost all contact with reality.

The elections had an unexpected result. On the Church side the position of the parties changed. The Intransigents, who for ten years had criticized the Concessionists' policy, were now considered shrewd and perspicacious. It was they who now took the direction of the Catholic opposition. Another consequence of the elections was the retirement of the Poincaré Cabinet, and later of the President of the Republic, caused by M. Millerand's compliant attitude toward the Church.

A Radical Socialist Government was formed by M. Herriot, the Radical Socialist leader. In his official address, outlining his coming program, M. Herriot expressed the sentiment of the majority. The Embassy at the Vatican would be suppressed, secular laws would be enforced, especially with regard to non-authorized "congregations," and would be applied to Alsace-Lorraine, which still had confessional schools.

What did the Herriot Cabinet intend to do? To what extreme would its anticlericalism go? No one knew. The Church "Activists" complained of persecution. They exaggerated. They forgot that they themselves had declared war—as they had the right to do—on the principles of the lay, or secular, State. Their hopes were deceived, their advantage lost. It was impossible to save them by

direct action. How could the public be interested in the question of the Embassy of the Vatican, of the "congregations," when the masses of the people were so indifferent to religion? Besides, the Pope's attitude during the war, which had been greatly criticized, and the mistrust to ultramontanism, were so many causes of prejudice against the monks and particularly against the Jesuits.

The threat of a laicization in Alsace came in good time, and was hailed by all Catholics. It provided the sentimental element which they needed.

A vast movement was organized under the guidance of the Bishops, to prepare "resistance to religious persecutions" and to group all the Catholic forces into a united whole. Catholic unions were constituted on the lines of the "Katolikenbund" in Alsace, created by Mgr. Ruch, Bishop of Strasbourg. Papers

published the proclamations of Bishops; tracts and placards were filled with violent, menacing words. They spoke of "mobilization," of "appeals to force." The most frequent argument was that any law disapproved by conscience and not in conformity with God's commands, is not a real law.

M. Millerand, in a manifesto issued on Nov. 8, 1924, announcing the creation of a "Ligue Nationale," said: "The league will not allow the revival, under the pretext of lay laws, of the quarrels appeased by the war." Those words were severely criticized by the Left as being a denial of fact; and also by Catholics, who were proud of being against secularization. Had the Government of the National bloc never denied the realities, had it not encouraged the Church's enterprises, the situation would not be what it is now.

II. IN BEHALF OF THE CHURCH

By GEORGES GOYAU

Member of the French Academy

DURING the first quarter of the twentieth century the question most frequently asked by the religious elements in France was this: Can a National Legislature, detached from Rome and without discussions with Rome, give the Catholic Church any firm and durable status within the nation? In the nineteenth century the Church in France lived under the terms of the Concordat. This agreement, signed by Pius VII. and Napoleon Bonaparte, was suddenly annulled in 1905 by the Parliament that voted the Law of Separation between Church and State. It was annulled without previous denunciation. Between Church and State, which have been partners for centuries, some formal proceedings of liquidation might have been expected, such as those that are agreed upon by the official and legal representatives of a husband and wife who wish to secure

a divorce. The State, however, wished to settle the whole matter and to settle it alone. The Holy See, thus ignored, forbade the French Catholics any active cooperation in the application of the law and forbade them to accept the State's invitation to organize the so-called Public Worship Associations [Associations Cultuelles] which, it was intended, should take over the ownership of the Church's properties and provide for the practice of religion. Pius X. held the view that such a law would not afford the Catholic hierarchy sufficient protection; so he preferred to allow the properties of the Church to be taken over by the Communes or by the State, rather than to introduce a democratic principle into the Church of France, a principle contrary to all traditional prerogatives of the episcopal hierarchy and of the Roman Church.

The Church lost all her properties.



Wide World Photos

General de Castelnau addressing a meeting at Nantes attended by 60,000 people to protest against the anti-Clerical policy of the Herriot Government

But, on the other hand, the refusal of the Catholics to conform to the law of 1905 caused the State serious embarrassment. According to that law, rejected by the Church, no public worship could be carried on, except through the Public Worship Associations. Was Catholic worship to disappear? The State shrank from such a grave and momentous conclusion. By a new law, passed on Jan. 2, 1907, it decided that, instead of placing the Church buildings under the charge of Public Worship Associations, they should be made freely available to priests and congregations for the practice of their religion. This was the Government's first step toward retreat. In exchange, under the law regulating public meetings, the State demanded a yearly declaration of the religious meetings

held in each building. The State could not reach an agreement with the French Bishops in respect to these declarations, and the crisis threatened to become even more serious; any act of public worship, if not declared, would be a violation of the law.

The Government, very much annoyed, felt the absurdity of such a solution. It retreated a second time. By the law passed on March 28, 1907, it abolished the necessity of declaring any public meetings of whatever character. From this time on Catholic worship was legally recognized as a form of public assembly not subject to declaration. Later, on the basis of these two laws of 1907, a code of legal principles was built up, according to which the rights of Bishops and Vicars over sacred buildings, rights deriving from the cult's general organization and its divine constitution, could be exercised

with some safety, outside of the limitations first prescribed by the law of 1905. But the Church's legal incapacity remained. A French citizen could not give or bequeath money for the performance of masses, as the Church was not a legal person. A presbytery erected by a priest became, when he died, part of his personal property, and as such liable to the payment of heavy inheritance taxes. Deprived of her properties, after the difficulties which arose over the application of the 1905 law, the Church was condemned to poverty, inasmuch as she had no means of legal incorporation and capitalization.

The spirit of the "Sacred Union" arising from the World War and from the fraternal bond linking all French people as they found themselves faced

by the common peril, led many to desire the end of an awkward situation, for the sake of both the country and of the Church. The French Government gradually resumed its relations with Rome, at first through semi-official intermediaries, then by the Embassy re-established in 1920-1921. The country, it seemed, was really "to know Rome anew." The lay or secular spirit that had led the legislators of 1905 to pass a law on the Church without the Church's consent, now appeared archaic. The discussions pursued in Paris by Mgr. Ceretti, the Papal nuncio, and by Messrs. Jonnart and Doulcet, successive French Ambassadors in Rome, led Pius XI., on Jan. 18, 1924, to consent to the establishment of the "Diocesan Associations," which would allow the French Church to become the legal owner of the patrimony required for the maintenance of the priests and to cover the costs of public worship without having recourse to indirect and sometimes precarious devices.

It was argued by some people that by his act on Jan. 18, 1924, Pius XI. had recognized the law of 1905 condemned by his predecessor, Pius X. This is wholly erroneous. The restrictions on religious practice mentioned in the law of 1905 were abrogated by two other State laws in 1907, as we have seen above. The rights of the Pope and the Bishops, inadequately guaranteed in 1905, were specifically recognized in the Diocesan Associations of 1924. They were placed under the Bishop's authority; he approved the choice of members and invested them with full power to fulfill the duties that the law conferred on them. Unlike the Public Worship Associations, the Diocesan Associations do not have to take charge of the practice of religion, but only to cover its expenses. They may, therefore, be considered by Rome as canonical. Furthermore, at M. Poincaré's request, the Government on Dec. 13, 1923, unanimously declared these associations to be legal.

In the Spring of 1924, following this agreement, there was ground for hoping that the cause of religious peace would

be strengthened. Meanwhile other symptomatic sides of the controversy were revealed. The "congregations," or monastic orders, had been ostracized by the law of 1901. French interests had suffered from this abroad. French missions ran the risk of being depleted of the necessary number of missionary priests if the Government refused to authorize missionary seminary courses. Before he died, and, to his honor, Maurice Barrès asked that such training courses be allowed in France for the following orders: Brothers of the Christian Schools, Pères Blancs (White Fathers), Franciscans, Priests of African Missions in Lyons. The French Parliament seemed willing to assent to this when, in May, 1924, the elections brought a new majority in the Palais-Bourbon under the name of the Cartel des Gauches (Combination of the Left Parties).

HERRIOT'S THREAT

M. Herriot's Ministerial address, especially because of the warlike interpretation given to it by *l'Ere Nouvelle* and *Le Quotidien*, seemed to represent a serious threat to religious peace. The new Premier made it plain that he would not keep an Ambassador in Rome. This meant that he wished to destroy the only machinery which, even under the régime of Separation, can maintain peaceful relations between Church and State. M. Herriot further declared he was ready to introduce all French laws into Alsace and Lorraine. Those old provinces of France, regained by the French Republic in 1919, had been held by the German Government under the régime of the Napoleonic Concordat. Marshal Joffre, M. Poincaré, M. Millerand, had solemnly assured the people of Alsace and Lorraine that their religious and educational traditions would be preserved. In a few days after the Herriot declaration Catholics, Protestants and Jews in Alsace and Lorraine were up in arms, demanding in huge meetings the maintenance of their ecclesiastical organisms and of their confessional schools.

Would M. Herriot commit again in Alsace and Lorraine, each under the Concordat, the blunder committed in France some nineteen years before by the Parliament of 1905? He might have negotiated with Rome for a modification of the religious status of Alsace and Lorraine, for he had an Ambassador in Rome. Bishops and "congregations" in the regained provinces would have waited patiently for a decision from Rome, and would have loyally accepted such when it came. Instead of this, M. Herriot, on his own initiative, acting as the supreme head of the State, made preparations to alter the religious organization in Alsace and to alter it without consulting the Pope, ignoring and considering as negligible the promises made by Marshal Joffre, M. Millerand and M. Poincaré, and the Concordat, on which M. Clemenceau, after the armistice, and in agreement with the Holy See, had based his appointment of the new Bishops of Strasbourg and Metz.

STATUS OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS

This action by M. Herriot aroused deep emotion in France. Furthermore, the investigations ordered by M. Chaumets, Minister of the Interior, of the existing status of religious orders in France, increased the general anxiety. The Premier's action directly affected the monks and priests who fought for France in 1914; were they to be forced abruptly to leave their native country because of a rigorous law that prohibited community life in monastic organizations? During the preceding session of Parliament M. Millerand and M. Poincaré had done themselves credit by granting to Catholic orders some effective liberty in a country where certain ostracisms had lasted all too long. The vehement threats sent by the press of the Left to the "congregations" seemed to indicate that such ostracisms were to be

renewed. A few months had been sufficient to bring a complete change of attitude far removed from that which had inspired the report of Maurice Barrès, favoring the projects for creating missionary novitiates.

The year 1924, however, ended without the commission of any irreparable act, but the menace continued. The Cabinet of M. Herriot, a little afraid of the sectarian spirit which it had itself unchained, seems to have deferred the realization of the menace through parliamentary decisions. But that Cabinet is supported by the group of 240 members belonging to the Masonic brotherhood, who will not tolerate any yielding or weakening in the Government's lay policy. Catholic opinion, however, supported by a considerable number of Liberals, is more active and better armed than twenty years ago, when it faced the Cabinet of Emile Combes. All these activities are concentrated in the *Ligue des Droits de Religieux Ancien Combattant* (the League for the Rights of Religious Veterans) and the Catholic Federation founded by General de Castelnau. The Radical Government has to face a well-organized religious group. Politicians who were more hostile to Catholics than is M. Herriot—Bismarck, for instance—thought it necessary to resume interrupted relations between their Government and Rome, in order to facilitate discussion with the Catholic representatives in their country. The violent reaction of the religious party in France should persuade the Left group to maintain diplomatic relations with Rome, who, through her influence over the French Catholics, can aid in the re-establishment of civic peace. It is only by discussion with Rome that the National bloc, without altering the 1905 laws abrogated by previous radical governments, can soften the harshness of those laws and bring back an attitude of peace and union.

The Tacna-Arica Award Made by President Coolidge

From Three Standpoints

The following article, by Mr. V. A. Belaunde, an eminent Peruvian, analyzes the terms of the award of President Coolidge (announced on March 9, 1925) as arbitrator in the long-standing and bitter dispute between Chile and Peru over the sovereignty of Tacna-Arica. This territory formerly consisted of two provinces, which were taken by Chile from Peru after the latter's defeat in the three-sided war of 1879 between Chile, Bolivia and Peru. The American President was chosen as arbitrator of the controversy (which had continued throughout a long period of years), as a result of the international conference called by the late President Harding over two years ago. President Coolidge, as arbitrator, decided that a plebiscite should be held to settle the question of sovereignty. This decision was a triumph for Chile's contention that the dispute must be settled by a popular referendum. The Presidential arbitrator also decided that a special commission should be created to determine the location of the Peruvian boundary.

The article by Mr. Belaunde presents the award in the light of an injustice to Peru. Mr. Belaunde, who has made a special study extending over a number of years, of all angles of this international controversy, analyzes the award in detail and compares the recommendations of President Coolidge as arbitrator, with the formal suggestions made on various occasions by accredited representatives of the Chilean Government, showing that, in every case, the award transcends the solutions believed by Chile in the past to represent the maximum of what she could hope to attain in the way of settlement. He particularly criticizes the provision allowing Chileans recently sent into Tacna-Arica by Chile to participate in the recommended plebiscite; this, he declares, will make Chile's triumph in that plebiscite a certainty. He shows by facts and figures that the award represents a complete defeat for Peru on an issue of momentous national importance, which holds dangerous possibilities for the future.

This viewpoint is further stressed by Mr. Horace G. Knowles, former United States Minister, in the article following that by Mr. Belaunde. Mr. Knowles, after summarizing the historic background of the dispute and showing how the two original provinces were taken by Chile after her victory in the war of 1879, reveals facts, hitherto lost sight of, explaining Peru's sentimental reasons for clinging to these provinces. This soil, he shows, is to Peru what Bunker Hill is to the United States, what Verdun is to France today, a spot bathed by Peruvian blood and consecrated by memories of Peruvian heroism engraved on the annals of Peruvian history.

The third article of the series, written by Mr. Ernesto Montenegro, a Chilean journalist, expresses the satisfaction of Chile over the award and explains its importance in the policy of President Alessandri, recently recalled from exile by the military Junta which overthrew the militaristic and reactionary régime of General Altamirano.

The strong reaction in Peru to the decision of President Coolidge, and the whole Peruvian point of view stressed by Mr. Belaunde and Mr. Knowles, in the articles published herewith, were eloquently attested by the transmission from the Peruvian Government, on April 2, to the State Department at Washington of a formal "memorial" addressed to President Coolidge making several requests for the taking of measures to ensure greater protection and extension of the rights of Peruvian nationals in the plebiscite prescribed by the award. Couched in diplomatic language the memorandum, not officially published when these pages went to press, was understood to ask the following safeguards: (1) The replacement of Chilean military and police authorities in Tacna and Arica, preferably with American troops or marines or, if this is not deemed desirable, the establishment of a native constabulary to replace the Chilean troops and police forces. (2) The admission to the plebiscite of Peruvians who had previously resided in the disputed territory for five years and were subsequently expelled by the Chilean authorities. (3) Retrial of Peruvian nationals convicted of crime by the Chilean authorities, on trumped-up charges, as the Peruvians allege, and on the ground of conviction for crime, excluded from participation in the plebiscite under the terms of the award.

A copy of the memorandum was provided for transmission to the Chilean Government. It was understood that the Peruvian Government intimated in its communication that unless the terms of the award were thus amplified, Peru would find it difficult, if not impossible, to participate in the plebiscite.—EDITOR.

I. Peru's Interpretation

By VICTOR ANDRES BELAUNDE

A prominent Peruvian member of the Faculty of the Rice Institute, Houston, Texas; author of "Nuestra Cuestion con Chile," "Documentos Esenciales del Debate Peruano-Chileno," "The Treaty of Ancon in the Light of International Law"

THE award of President Coolidge as arbitrator of the long-standing controversy between Peru and Chile over the provinces of Tacna-Arica and ordering a plebiscite in these provinces was received with great satisfaction in Chile but aroused a tremendous protest in Peru. This article is written to explain to the American public the causes of these antithetical reactions.

According to the Washington protocol, signed at the Pan-American Union on July 21, 1922, by the Peruvian and Chilean plenipotentiaries, the President of the United States was empowered to decide if the plebiscite which, under the Treaty of Ancon (Oct. 20, 1883), was to be held ten years later should or should not be carried out. Peruvian public opinion had entire confidence in the proofs presented to the arbitrator that the Chilean Government had avoided carrying out the plebiscite at the end of the ten years stipulated by the treaty, viz., in 1894, and had persecuted and expelled the native (Peruvian) population, making a genuine popular vote impossible. Consequently, the Peruvian people were convinced that the President of the United States would decide against a plebiscite and that the problem would be solved either by mediation of the United States or by a second arbitration. This feeling in Peru was reflected by the different organs of public opinion and supported by strong propaganda on the part of the Peruvian Government.

On the other hand, in Chilean quarters (except, of course, the official cir-

cles well acquainted with the spirit of the Washington protocol) there was not much confidence that the Chilean contention that the dispute must be settled by a plebiscite would be upheld. The Chilean people were well aware of the history of the negotiations between the two countries, and fully conscious of the fact that the responsibility of Chile for the nonfulfillment of the Treaty of Ancon had been frankly confessed by Chilean statesmen and diplomats.

AWARD RESENTED IN PERU

The award, therefore, came as a tremendous deception for Peru and as an agreeable surprise for Chile. The Chilean Ambassador, Señor Mathieu, stated that he was gratified over the outcome of the arbitration, a result regarded as a vindication of his country's stand and of its conduct throughout the controversy. Doctor Lansing, the Chilean defender, said: "From the beginning to the end the award is a complete vindication of the course pursued by Chile during the past thirty years and an endorsement of Chile's position in the case and counter case which she has submitted to the arbitrator." At the very moment that the bells of the Church of Santiago started ringing, the Government of Chile sent a message of thanks to President Coolidge; the American Ambassador, Mr. Collier, was cheered by the crowds when he entered the Moneda Palace. In Peru, the protest took the form of a general strike and of numerous parades of students, workers, women and the natives of the prov-

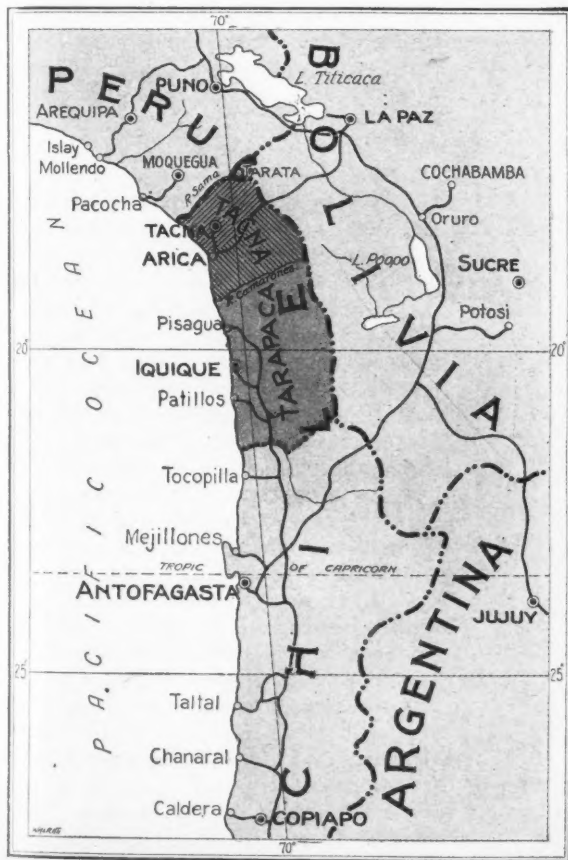
inces. The President of Peru, Mr. Leguía, in his dispatch to President Coolidge could do no less than to state that the award "has undeservedly approved the moral position of the Republic of Chile, undoubtedly guilty for over forty years of untold persecution and crime against citizens from Tacna and Arica."

The only compensation that Peru receives under the award is inconsiderable, viz., the return of the small district of Tarata, composed of three villages and of a population of three to four thousand inhabitants. This territory, which is entirely different from that of the Province of Tacna-Arica, was never included in the Treaty of Ancon because it lies to the north of the River Sama. The remaining part of President Coolidge's decision is

wholly in accord with the extreme Chilean thesis. The award decides that a plebiscite shall be held under the supervision of a Plebiscitary Committee of three members, one to be named by Chile, one by Peru and one by the President of the United States. The last will act as head of the commission. This commission is to meet six months from the date of the award for the purpose of framing the regulations governing the procedure of registration and the election bodies, the reception and counting of ballots, the tabulation and scrutiny of returns. The commission will have complete control over the plebiscite and the right to decide whether the persons who claim the right to register and vote are qualified

to do so. The question of the Presidency of the Plebiscitary Commission was earnestly discussed by the Peruvian and Chilean Governments fifteen years ago. As Chile had not introduced into the provinces at that time the Chilean citizens she later sent, she had great interest in obtaining the Presidency of the commission and, in consequence, the control of the plebiscite. Today the situation is completely different. The Chilean policy of "Chileanization" of Tacna-Arica has produced its effects; a great amount of Chilean population has been maintained in this territory artificially; so that the main interest for Chile is not the Presidency of the Plebiscitary Commission, but the vote of the Chilean residents introduced during the last few years into the provinces.

The essential part of the award of President Coolidge deals with the qualifications of the voters. Women are excluded, as well



Map showing the territory involved in the Tacna-Arica controversy

as minors and illiterates. The last exclusion, a very important one, is entirely favorable to Chile. It puts aside the vote of the Peruvian Indians, who are not able to read or write. The owner of real property in Tacna-Arica should not be denied the right to vote because of inability to read and write. This exception would have favored some of the more educated Indians if the Peruvian Indian communities had not disappeared on account of the policy of expropriation and colonization followed by Chile in violation of the Treaty of Ancon.

Persons born in Tacna-Arica have under the award the right to vote. This provision couched in general terms fails to fix the dates, a factor of immense importance to Chile, since strict justice will deprive of the right to vote all persons born in Tacna-Arica of entirely Chilean stock after 1894, the date for the plebiscite fixed by the Treaty of Ancon.

In the second place, the award confirms voting privileges to:

Chileans and Peruvians who have resided for two years continuously in that territory on July 20, 1922 and continue to so reside until the date of registration, and resided three months immediately preceding registration in the "subdelegation" in which they are residents at the time of registration and make affidavit of residence as required by the Commission.

Apparently, from the point of view of the requisite of their residence in this territory, Peruvian and Chilean citizens are considered by the award on equal footing. But, in reality, this is not true, because Chile, during her possession of the provinces, was able to send into them the number of citizens she desired, while Peru, on account of the Chilean policy, was not even able to keep the native population that was there. It is nonsense to speak of "other" Peruvian residents, when even the natives were expelled.

IMPORTED CHILEANS MAY VOTE

In the old negotiations between Peru and Chile concerning the plebiscite, the bone of contention was the right to vote of the Chilean residents. The Peruvian

thesis, inspired by strict justice and diplomatic precedents, denied the vote to the Chileans. Peru, however, in her great desire to carry out the plebiscite and to fulfill the treaty of Ancon, went as far as to offer to Chile, by the memoranda of Feb. 23, 1894, and Nov. 5, 1909, its approval of the right of all Chileans who had resided in the territory for two years to participate in the plebiscite. The proposal made in 1894 gave the right to vote to Chileans who had resided in Tacna-Arica since February, 1892; the proposal of 1909, to Chileans who had resided in this territory from July 1, 1907. Under the provisions of the recent award, this right is conferred to Chileans who can prove two years of residence on July 20, 1922. This practically means that Chileans introduced into this territory just two years before the Washington protocol, are to decide the nationality of the provinces. This mere observation shows the unjust character of the award.

The requisite of two years of residence varies in its results according to the moment from which this residence is to be counted. It is clear that even the Chilean Government did not think that that moment would be later than the date on which the discussions were renewed between both countries by the note of the Chilean Minister, Barros Jarpa, in December, 1921. It may be stated, therefore, with absolute certainty that the award gave Chile much more than she expected. Had this point of the condition of the plebiscite been submitted to a tribunal of Chilean jurists their decision would have excluded, in simple justice, the Chileans arriving in the provinces at the last moment. We have the proof of this statement in the proposals made to Peru regarding the plebiscite, first, in 1910, by the Chilean Minister, Señor Edwards; second, by the Chilean Minister, Señor Barros Jarpa, and third, by the Chilean delegations during the discussions of the Washington protocol.

The Chilean Minister, Señor Edwards,

in his note of March 3, 1910, proposed a plebiscite in which Chileans of six months' residence would have a vote. The award of President Coolidge gives this right to Chileans established in this territory, not from the year 1910, but from the year 1920.

The Chilean Minister, Barros Jarpa, in his note of Dec. 12, 1921, said: "Those born in Tacna-Arica and Chileans and Peruvians having a residence of *three years* in the territory shall have a right to vote." Barros Jarpa, therefore, proposed giving the vote to Chileans residing in Tacna-Arica from Dec. 12, 1918, while the date established by the award extends the right to Chileans arriving in the provinces three years later. Consequently, we may say that for Peru it would have been better to accept the proposal of the Chilean Minister, Barros Jarpa, than to follow the arbitration in Washington.

Of still greater interest are the Chilean proposals during the discussions leading to the Washington protocol. The proposals submitted to Peru were two; first, that resulting from the negotiations of Huneus Valera in 1912, and second, that made by Dr. Porras on Nov. 5, 1909. The three years of residence outlined in the proposal of Huneus Valera would have given the right to take part in the plebiscite to Chileans who had resided in Tacna-Arica from June 30, 1919. The second proposal presented by the Chilean delegation, because it was certain the Peruvians would have rejected the first, gave the vote to Chilean residents from July 1, 1907. The award, therefore, of the United States Government has postponed for *thirteen years* the date of the requisite two years' residence in comparison with the Chilean ideas during the discussion of the arbitration protocol in 1922.

The following résumé will give an idea of the defeat suffered by Peru through the award: Chileans granted the right to vote in the plebiscite: (1) According to the second proposal of the Chilean delegation in the Washington conference, residents from July 1, 1907; (2) According to the proposal of the

Chilean Minister Edwards, residents from March 3, 1910; (3) According to the proposal of the Chilean Minister Barros Jarpa, residents from Dec. 21, 1919; (4) According to the first proposal of the Chilean delegation in the Washington conference, residents from June 30, 1919; (5) According to the award, residents from July 20, 1920. These dates do not require further comment. The conclusion is obvious.

We have no complete information as to the present Chilean and Peruvian population in Tacna-Arica or the precise number of Peruvians that were expelled. According to the Chilean census of 1920, the male literates in Tacna-Arica were 14,481. It is necessary to make a reduction of one-third to arrive at a correct estimate of the persons under 21 years of age. The voting strength is approximately 10,000, of which less than 2,000 of the voters are Peruvians. To this group we must add the exiled Peruvians who are now expected to return. According to the Peruvian Minister, Salamon, 18,000 Peruvians were expelled from Chile. We may suppose that at least one-third of this number represents male literates of Tacna-Arica having the right to vote. Thus the Peruvian and Chilean groups have about the same number enfranchised, if we accept the figures of the Chilean census of 1920, and it is clear that, but for the award provision giving electoral rights not only to those Chileans established in the province before 1920, but also to those who arrived seven months later, the political and racial representation would have been approximately equal.

AWARD TRIUMPH FOR CHILE

We know that political arbitration is inspired not so much by strict justice as by the idea of effecting a compromise. Even accepting this premise, however, we Peruvians never believed that the award would have established conditions so extremely favorable to Chile. It was evident that once the plebiscite was decided, the vote of the Chilean residents would be acceptable, but the

right to vote should require, at least, a residence from a date between that proposed by Peru in 1894 and that proposed by the Chilean Minister, Barros Jarpa, in 1921. Such a middle course between these two extremes coincides more or less with the proposal presented by the Chilean Minister, Edwards, and by the Chilean delegation at the Washington conference.

The award accepted also the Chilean thesis regarding the vote of the foreigners and the secrecy of the ballot. Peru, it should be remembered, objected to the enfranchisement of the foreigners on the ground that they had been under the influence of the Chilean authorities during the occupation; Peru also advocated publicity of the ballot.

The administration of the provinces is not changed during the registration and during the voting; this situation gives to Chile the great advantage of retaining control of the economic and political machinery of the provinces. Strict justice demands that a neutral administration under the arbitrator should be established immediately. The arbitrator's arrangements for the execution of the provisions of the award are most radical. The award, indeed, is more than a declaration of rights or a general solution of a problem; it also establishes practical regulations to govern the mechanical execution of its terms. If one of the countries does not appoint its representative to the commission, the arbitrator will fill the vacancy. If one of the countries does not deposit the funds necessary for the expenses of the commission, the others will supply the money and will be reimbursed from the \$10,000,000 to be given to the losing country. The arbitrator has the right to proclaim the successful completion of the plebiscite, or to declare it null and void and to order another within three months. Execution of the provisions of the award is not entrusted to the good faith of the countries involved. The arbitrator serves also as executor whose function will cease only when the award has been entirely fulfilled.

To understand the causes and the

character of the award, it is necessary to recall the history of the Washington protocol and to note the imperfect character of the arbitration therein established. In order to make possible the discussion with Chile, Peru was compelled by the Government of the United States in 1922 to put aside her claim concerning the nullity of the Treaty of Ancon; in making this concession she hoped to get an efficient arbitration regarding the sovereignty of the provinces. When this arbitration was rejected by the Chilean delegation, Secretary of State Hughes presented a formula, according to which the question would be discussed by direct negotiations in the event that the plebiscite was set aside. This formula virtually meant an imperfect or lame arbitration; it meant, in other words, that should the case be decided in accordance with the Peruvian thesis the problem would remain unsolved. Enlistment as an emergency measure of the good offices of the United States, which recourse had been proposed by Peru and agreed to by Secretary Hughes and Chile, did not change the substance and unsatisfactory character of Mr. Hughes's formula.

AMBASSADOR MATHIEU'S TELEGRAM

Proof of this contention is found in a telegram sent by the Chilean Ambassador to his Government regarding this proposal to use the good offices of the United States, in case the plebiscite should be decided upon. This telegram follows:

Washington, July 6, 1922.

Minister of Foreign Relations—Santiago.

No. 113. The Secretary of State sent for me today, Thursday, to tell me that as a result of the consultation of the Peruvian delegation with Lima, Porras has been to see him, signifying that Peru was resolved to abandon her demand for arbitration in the future and problematical negotiations with Chile. In the case of the arbitrator declaring the plebiscite would not take place, it should be established now, in some form, that the two countries would accept the good offices of the United States in said negotiations.

Hughes explained to me that he was submitting the point for our consideration, deeming that it would not alter the essential nature

of our situation in the case in question, since we would remain at liberty to accept or reject whatever formula or solution might be proposed, should the contingency arise; that the good offices in question would be such as he is exercising at this time without compromising any one. Hughes endeavored to persuade me that the concession was more apparent than real, that it had no significance for the situation in which we would remain in the event contemplated, and he concluded by asking me to consult you. MATHIEU.

This telegram, published on page 636 in the appendix of the Case of the Republic of Chile, throws light on the true character of the Washington arbitration. Mr. Hughes's formula gave the arbitrator his choice of two moves: either to order the plebiscite or to leave the entire problem unsolved, as the employment of the good offices of the United States did not involve any obligation or engagement on the part of the

Government of Chile. The Washington protocol, because of the nature of Mr. Hughes's formula, was bound, therefore, to lead to the declaration in favor of a plebiscite.

Strong as may be the objections, from a judicial point of view, to the holding of a plebiscite, the President of the United States should have considered the political and diplomatic advisability of reaching a solution to the problem by the only way open: that is, through the Washington protocol.

In cases such as this arbitration through an international tribunal similar to The Hague Court would be the most satisfactory method of adjustment. Arbitration in that way would have saved the United States Government from the inevitable criticism and the diplomatic and political consequences resulting from the award just rendered.

II. The Historic Background

By HORACE G. KNOWLES

Former United States Minister to Santo Domingo

IF the people of our country knew more than they do about the Tacna-Arica question, what it grew out of, the bitterness it has engendered between two of the leading South American countries and the trouble that it is sure to produce before a final disposition of it, they would be keenly interested in the decision rendered on March 9, 1925, by President Coolidge in the arbitration proceedings involving that long-existing dispute between Peru and Chile. The historical antecedents were briefly as follows:

For a great many years prior to 1879, when the so-called war of the Pacific began, the territory of Bolivia extended to the Pacific Coast, and the large area that fronted on the ocean included the enormous rich deposits of copper and nitrate and the important city of Antofagasta. Unwisely, Bolivia, desiring to increase the export tax on nitrate, permitted herself to be drawn into a quar-

rel with Chile. Bolivia had a secret treaty with Peru whereby each was to aid the other in any offensive or defensive operations against Chile. Bolivia sent Chile an ultimatum. Peru, living up to her treaty obligations, joined Bolivia in the offensive. Chile was militarily in every way superior to both Bolivia and Peru. From the first shot that was fired in that war Bolivia and Peru had not the ghost of a chance.

The war had progressed but a short time when Bolivia capitulated and abandoned her ally and defender, with the result that she was deprived of her littoral, in which vast area was contained enormous beds of nitrate, the large and promising City of Antofagasta and the immense copper deposits, a portion of which includes the great fabulously rich Chuquicamata mines, which belong to and are operated by the Chile Copper Company, formerly controlled by the Guggenheim brothers and now

by the Anaconda Copper Company, and yielding many millions of pounds of copper every month.

When Chile had completely conquered her stronger adversary, had destroyed both her army and navy and was at the very gates of Lima, she exacted as the price of peace not only the coveted vast nitrate fields that belonged to Peru and the wealth of which has provided Chile, for more than forty years following that war, with 90 per cent. of her national income, but also the two provinces of Tacna and Arica.

Those two provinces were on the coast, in the extreme south of the country. They were separated from the main or inhabited part of Peru by hundreds of miles of barren sand and were isolated almost as much as a colony on a distant island. Their population was more than 90 per cent. Peruvian. They were really of no use or value to Peru, and contained no mineral deposits of importance.

No sooner did Chile take possession of Tacna and Arica, in accordance with the terms of the peace treaty of Ancon, than she inaugurated a very drastic system of control. The Peruvians charge that Peruvians were driven out of that territory and that Chile, having in mind the plebiscite which the treaty provided should take place ten years after the signing of the treaty, inaugurated and continuously carried out a scheme of colonization, whereby Chileans were sent into those two provinces as rapidly, or even more so, as the Peruvians were driven out.

Suspicious of intention to compromise on this issue have wrecked many Cabinets and Governments of the two countries. The announcement of the arbitration plan about two years ago immediately caused serious disturbances in both countries, and the Presidents and the Ministers, as the Cabinet members in those countries are called, were for a time exceedingly alarmed and resorted to every political device to pacify their angered people.

The announcement by President Coolidge of his decision is by no means the

end of this ever-troublesome matter. The award is a distinct victory for Chile, as, for the reasons above stated, she is now certain to be successful when the said plebiscite or popular vote is taken in those two provinces and which is to decide whether they are to remain Chilean or revert to Peru. The announcement of the award, according to the telegraphic news of the Buenos Aires and New York newspapers, occasioned exceeding joy in Chile and intense disappointment, distress and anger in Peru. The Peruvians will undoubtedly hold President Leguia responsible for the loss of their beloved Tacna and Arica, and there is no doubt that their resentment and suspicion of having been, as they believe, betrayed, will soon be manifested.

TACNA HOME OF GLORIOUS MEMORIES

In the war of the Pacific, in 1879, when the rapid northward march of the Chilean army had quickly annihilated the Bolivian offensive and defensive and had pushed the feebly resisting, small army of Peru backward to Tacna, acts of heroism and valor took place in this province unsurpassed in any of the great world wars and equal to the imperishable deeds at Bunker Hill, Lexington and Verdun.

Reaching Tacna, the best part of the strong Chilean army, numbering no less than 1,000 men, surrounded about 300 Peruvian soldiers, who were under the command of Francisco Bolognesi. The commander of the Chilean regiment sent an order to Colonel Bolognesi to surrender. The heroic Colonel replied that he would not surrender before the last cartridge had been fired from his side, whereupon the Chilean troops opened fire on the Peruvians. While leading and cheering his men the valorous Bolognesi was shot and, according to Peruvian historians, while wounded and helpless was dispatched by the enemy. The several assaults of the Chileans reduced the defenders until they were absolutely helpless. When the remnant of that heroic battalion found itself trapped and beyond all

hope of escape it surrendered. Then came one of the most valorous acts of all history.

There is at Arica a great cliff or precipice that stands sheer and upright out of the ocean about 300 feet high and is known as the Morro of Arica. At the bottom are jagged rocks, the sharp edges and points of which churn the never-ending swells of the ocean into froth and foam. When the Chileans started to close in on the Peruvians, a companion officer of the already dead Bolognesi, Colonel Alfonso Ugarte, rather than be captured sprang into his saddle and, turning his face oceanward, went flying over the edge of that high cliff to his glorious death on the rocks and in the foam below. To all Peruvians the Morro of Arica and Bolognesi and Ugarte are the most sacred things in their national life. They cling to Tacna and Arica because to them it is the part of their country that is associated with the most heroic and desperate struggle their country made against their greatest foe, and it is the shrine of all that is glorious, valorous and soul-stirring in their national history. (They say that when the United States surrenders Bunker Hill and Lexington to the British, and the French Verdun to the Germans, the people and Government of the United States can ask

and expect Peruvians to give their Tacna and Arica to the Chileans.)

Instead of being ended, the Tacna-Arica dispute now really enters upon another and probably the most serious stage since its inception. Like Alsace and Lorraine, it has become a problem bathed in the blood of a conquered people, both the past and present generations of which have been religiously taught that the harsh victor of that, to them, disastrous war intends that they shall never regain their former national power and prestige.

President Leguia promised to stand by his countrymen in their predominating desire and aim to regain Tacna and Arica. Had he not given that promise he would never have become President of Peru. Instead of being faithful to that pledge and obligation, he entered into a deal with the Chileans and sanctioned the submission to the President of the United States of a question which any intelligent person could see could be answered only in one way, namely, as President Coolidge has answered it—by the recommendation of a plebiscite which is bound to be disastrous to the claims and hopes of the Peruvians. The uprisings and demonstrations in Peru following the decision were expressive of the general feeling existing throughout that country.

III. Award's Influence on Chilean Policy

By ERNESTO MONTENEGRO

A Chilean Journalist

COINCIDENT with the return of President Alessandri to Chile, after his retirement from power following the military coup of last September, comes the American award presented by President Coolidge in March, 1925, on the controversy with Peru over the territories of Tacna and Arica. The decision that the dispute must be settled by a plebiscite was hailed with joy by Chile. Popular sentiment in Chile welcomes the end of the forty years' estrangement with its northern neigh-

bor, Peru, since the settlement of the dispute over the sovereignty of Tacna-Arica is a large asset for a Government whose program is framed on social justice and international good-will. If, as is understood, Alessandri has returned untrammelled by any surrender of his prerogatives, Chile will again enter upon the road to democratic rule. What may still be obscure in the perspective of the events of the last three months or so, the reader will de-

cipher by following a brief review of these incidents.

The military coup by the Juntas of Captains and Lieutenants of the Chilean Army was intended as a forcible check on the extravagances of a Congress that had put aside many urgent projects submitted by the Executive for the benefit of public employes, the wage-earners' retirement fund and the like, in order to offer themselves a substantial parliamentary salary. But the young officers of the army that made up the military Juntas had a still more ambitious purpose when they decided to put their own men in power, that is, to throw the weight of the army between the impending forces of reaction and radicalism. In short, they planned the salvaging of the original Alessandri program from the double pressure of politicians and revolutionaries by allying the redoubtable prestige of the army and navy with the principles of order, discipline and morality in the Government.

This alone explains the aloofness of the labor element from the quarrel which ensued. While the advanced liberal (radical) party and the younger element in the University were agitating and speech-making in the name of abstract principles of liberty and democracy, the artisan and the workingman preserved an attitude of close watchfulness, and no more. The younger army officers were all this time acting as liaison officers between the military Government they had established and organized labor. But when the military Directory, presided over by General Altamirano, acting through the civilian Cabinet headed by Señor Roldan, became entangled in a network of decrees and counter-decrees, such as that putting into effect the employes' retirement fund and nullifying its provisions at the first protest of the employers' committee, popular dissatisfaction became articulate and audible.

By the beginning of December, 1924, the military Juntas were beehives of indignant army officers, who in the privacy of their casinos and even in the

semi-publicity of political clubs, were lampooning their own creatures in supreme command. These were weeks of feverish clandestine activity. Altamirano and his friends were trying to shake off the tutelage of their juniors in the army by disciplining their secret leaders, at the same time that the Juntas were working for a closer cooperation with the rank and file of the army and with the common people.

It was at this juncture that the Juntas claimed to have unearthed a plot of Generals, Admirals and civilians for the purpose of handing over the Presidency of the Republic to Señor Barros-Borgoño, the very man Alessandri defeated by a narrow margin four years before. The Government was showered by protests and warnings. The epithet of traitor was openly hurled at Altamirano and his collaborators. The Government retaliated by ordering the Juntas dissolved, and by assigning the more notorious leaders to new posts three to ten days distant from the capital.

By the new year both the Unionists and the Liberal Alliance conventions were hatching their Presidential candidates. The latter group decided to postpone their vote until the Conservatives had acted; and sure enough, as soon as these had proclaimed Senator Errázuriz, a man barred by political connections, family traditions and temperament as a candidate to the Presidency of the Republic, the liberal ("radical") party countered by putting Alessandri's name at the top of its list.

The situation was a hopeless one. By no peaceful and orderly means could either Alessandri or Errázuriz become President in 1926, the former because of the constitutional provision barring a candidate from being elected for two consecutive periods, and the latter by reason of his conservative leanings and reactionary connections. It was evident that, while the proclamation of Alessandri had been merely a retaliatory move, the choosing of his opponent was a case of plain surrendering on the part of the Directory, whose military

and civilian members were in close touch with the Unionist bloc.

Though the military Juntas had melted, to all appearances, on the forenoon of Jan. 23, a group of officers, among which were some of the most active leaders of the September coup, brought a regiment up to the gates of La Mone-da, the executive mansion, and proceeded to put the members of the Government under arrest. The fact that among the men detained were Admirals Neff and Gomez-Carreño, supported for a while the presumption that the navy might side with the "outs" and cut the central Government's communications with the nitrate littoral, one of the country's vital spots. That this possibility was at one time on the brink of fulfillment is evidenced by the fact that one of the regiments garrisoning Valparaiso actually embarked on board a warship. For the last-minute failure of this counter-revolution I wish to offer an explanation, which I consider symptomatic of the whole Chilean case. It is true that the young officers of the military Juntas failed to wait for their navy comrades to strike jointly at the Altamirano Government. For this there were at least two good reasons, the first being that they were sure the officers of the navy would balk at the new coup. But the determining factor in the decision of the Juntas to handle the thing alone was the loud demonstration of resentment with which the civil and the mechanical personnel of the navy had received some of the latest blunders of the Altamirano Government. Due to some subtle antagonism of calling or of pedigree, but more than anything by reason of an absurd policy in the direction of the Chilean fleet, the naval officer and the naval engineer have come from two different schools, the naval cadet always presuming a higher station, to which the Chilean Government until recently subscribed by not opening the higher grades to the graduates of the Engineer School. No wonder, then, that when the crisis came we should find these men allying themselves with the more democratic officers of the

army, as against the more "exclusive" elements of either body and of the body politic. At any rate, the outspoken attitude of the civil and the engineering personnels of the navy stayed the hand of those navy officers and chiefs who would have favored a renewal of the exploits of the fleet against the progressive President Balmaceda in 1891.

ALESSANDRI'S STAND JUSTIFIED

Alessandri has come back to his post, which he had surrendered without resistance only five months before, with his popularity invigorated by exile and his prestige enhanced by the mistakes of the men who ousted him. The previous four years of his administration had brought many disappointments, to him, as well as to others, but all throughout that period he had striven to fulfill his pre-election promises despite the opposition in the Senate and the demands of his own supporters. From now until the end of December, 1925, when he expects to surrender the Presidency to his duly elected successor, Alessandri will have his hands full with the re-establishment of the civilian administration, paralyzed here and there by the injection of military appointments, and with the study of a definite bill of constitutional reforms in which his personal views, the aspirations of his followers and those of the military Juntas must concur.

His efforts have already concentrated around two capital matters: that of presiding over the election of the Congress that is to frame the new Constitution, and that of preparing for the smooth working of the Tacna-Arica plebiscite next June. As to internal politics, we find there a situation de facto very characteristic of the chaos into which Chile was plunged, for though Alessandri answered the military Juntas' call to return to his native land with real magnanimity of spirit, he was at the same time very explicit as to the necessity of his being recognized as the only authority in the executive branch of the Government. To this the Juntas appeared to have agreed by insisting in

their invitation; but, on the other hand, we find in the manifesto issued by the military on the same date this somewhat cryptic and hardly reassuring statement: "We promise untainted elections, for they are to be watched by our swords."

Under such mixed auspices, Alessandri resumes his conciliatory policies, fully acquitted of the charges hurled against him, so far as his personal conduct in office was concerned. At the time of the accession to power of the Altamirano Government, a great deal of notice was made by Alessandri's enemies in regard to certain "concessions" in the nitrate zone, and misuse of funds for relief of the unemployed; but nobody was able to support charges against the President personally by any convincing proof. His exile had definite causes. The Labor Party was not satisfied with the progress of Alessandri's program of social reforms in the four years already elapsed, while public opinion at large was dumfounded by the greediness of certain elements in the Radical (Laicist) party, who were profiting most unscrupulously as a compensation for their support of the Government. Furthermore, youthful politicians were placed by Alessandri in the higher places in the Administration to make up for the political absenteeism from which Chile has been suffering for a generation or so, marked by the refusal of many of the most experienced and reputed men in public life to share the responsibilities in the conduct of national and international affairs with the men promoted by Alessandri from the ranks of the majority parties.

EVILS OF ALTAMIRANO REGIME

A few months of military rule, however, were all that was needed to give the public a taste of what it means to allow youthful enthusiasm and professed good intentions to have free rein in public matters. In the turmoil of projects that sprang up the day following the establishment of the military régime, the public soon discovered a hopeless tangle of political quackery,

almost destitute of any practical sense. Original plans such as the immediate convocation of a Constitutional Assembly were speedily dropped, and the amendment of the election statute met with general disapproval as soon as it was realized that neither the proportional representation clause nor other guarantees desired for the benefit of minorities were included.

More pressing needs were at the same time demanding solution. The cost of living was painfully high in relation to wages; bread was being reduced to small loaves of a poor quality. Though an agitation for the lowering of rentals down to no more than 50 per cent. of their present figures was being conducted until as late as February, it had no more practical result than the Government's ordering an inspection of tenements in the capital and the vacating of unsanitary dwellings. This and other measures, however, were carried out in the stern way peculiar to army methods, with the result that discontent spread rapidly.

Finally, it was realized by Chilean public opinion in its broadest reaches that the forthcoming settlement with Peru, of the Tacna-Arica dispute, under American supervision, was a matter which required civil and not military methods—electoral methods.

When President Coolidge, early in March, made his award known, every sensible person in Chile saw in it the most ample justification for Alessandri's policies in this respect. To begin with, the plebiscite contention advanced by Chile had been fully sustained by the arbiter; furthermore, all resident natives or people who have been settled for a certain length of time in the disputed provinces are given the right to make their voices heard as to what sovereignty they wish to live under henceforth. No alarmist has gotten any comfort out of the award, so far, and, consequently Alessandri's enemies, after making such a fiasco of the Government in his absence, could not stem the tide of public opinion so overwhelmingly in favor of his immediate return.

Latin America's First Great Educator

By C. E. CASTANEDA

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OF all the countries of South America, Argentina stands out easily as one of the most progressive. Many factors have contributed to its prosperity, but chief among them are its schools, for without a doubt Argentina possesses the best school system throughout Latin America. Her teachers are better paid than even in the United States and in the course of less than one hundred years she has been able to reduce ignorance and illiteracy among the people from 80 per cent. to 25 per cent. When we consider that until 1853 the country was constantly torn by civil dissension and turmoil, that there was nothing approaching a national system of education, that the great masses were totally ignorant, and that little enthusiasm was felt for intellectual attainments, the development of the present school system is little short of marvelous.

With a population of over 8,000,000, out of which a million and a half are children of school age, she had an attendance enrolment of 1,190,231 in her schools in 1919. This percentage is hard to equal even in the United States. In addition to 9,268 primary schools, Argentina has 42 national colleges, 33 private colleges, 82 normal schools, 37 special schools of commerce, arts, and so forth, and 5 universities. The colleges are chiefly attended by boys, and the work given in these schools is preparatory to the university and the professions. On the other hand, the normal schools are chiefly attended by girls who become teachers.

In marked contrast with the system in the United States, the schools of Argentina are under the supervision and practical control of the Federal Government. The different provinces are left free to arrange their own school legisla-

tion provided it harmonizes with certain general principles, but all the schools are subject to inspection and approval by the Federal Government. This is true even of private schools, which have to comply with the general principles laid down by the Government. The Minister of Justice and Public Instruction has control of all educational matters and is assisted in his work by the Consejo Nacional de Educacion (National Council of Education). He has the power to establish new schools in any province on the petition of a community. Through the control and supervision of the Department of Public Instruction, uniformity is secured throughout the whole country and in consequence a high standard is maintained in all the schools, public and private.

The teachers in the national schools are paid in accordance with a fixed salary schedule that takes into consideration the teacher's training and experience in teaching. The Government reserves five per cent. of all the teachers' salaries to be applied to a permanent fund for the payment of pensions on retirement. After twenty-five years of active teaching in the national schools the teacher is "jubilado" or retired on full pay for the rest of his life. This fact alone shows in what regard the teacher is held in Argentina. He is considered a Government employe who serves his country, and who, after giving his best years to this work, deserves to be pensioned. The natural result of this system has been to give Argentina a well-trained, efficient, and thoroughly professional corps of teachers. Teaching is not regarded as a side line as it is in many other Spanish-American countries, but a profession with a future and a pension for faithful service. The require-

ments for primary, secondary and university teachers vary and their salary is proportional to their more specialized training and longer experience in teaching.

This wonderful structure is the result of the humble efforts of a single man who in the first half of the nineteenth century conceived the idea that, if Argentina was to take a leading place among the great nations of the world, she

must first develop a national school system that would carry to the countless masses the light of education. This great visionary, the founder of the school system of Argentina, was Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. A warm admirer of the United States, he was one of the first to realize that its prosperity was due to the widespread interest in education. By his labors he won for himself one of the most illustrious names in the history of education in South America. In his well-known book, "The Public School, the Basis of the Prosperity of the United States," he declared that democracy was impossible without an efficient public school system. Sarmiento was a personal friend and an ardent admirer of Emerson, Horace Mann and Lincoln, and in the course of his strenuous career found time to write "The Life of Horace Mann" and "The Life of Abraham Lincoln." Both books are well known in Spanish-America, having contributed much toward acquainting the Spanish-American youth with those two outstanding figures of American life.

Born of poor parents, in the little town of San Juan on the edge of the immense pampas, in 1811, Sarmiento received a very meagre education, but his personal desire for knowledge and his



Argentine children going to school

unlimited ambition were such that in spite of his surroundings and his humble means, he slowly but surely acquired a vast and inexhaustible store of knowledge. While very young he became imbued with the idea of liberty and independence; and in 1829, when Rosas, the Dictator, assumed the reins of power in Argentina, Sarmiento had to flee to Chile to escape his wrath. Here he worked as clerk, schoolmaster, and mine overseer. It was at this time that, unaided, he learned to read English, and it was one of the regrets of his life that he was never able to speak it with any degree of fluency.

Learning from his own experience the difficulties encountered by the ambitious youth in acquiring an education, and thoroughly convinced that the despotism inherited from the Spanish Colonial system would continue to flourish and devastate the newly created republics unless the masses of the people were enlightened, he determined to dedicate all his efforts and all his strength to the establishment of public schools. He became a most active contributor to the several papers of Chile, and his clear, forceful and uncompromising style not only marked him as the outstanding advocate of education, but as the true

friend of the masses. He attracted the attention of the leading men of Chile and became a close friend of Manuel Montt, the Prime Minister, who in a letter to Sarmiento once said, "With the exception of President, you can hold any office you choose," and this only ten years after he had arrived in Chile, a penniless, unknown exile.

Sarmiento's rise was rapid. In 1842, with the cooperation of his friend Montt, he established the first normal school in Spanish America. This alone would entitle him to fame, for it was the second school of its kind in the two Americas, the first having been established in Lexington, Mass., by Horace Mann. It marked the beginning of professional training for teachers. Three years later, through the influence of his friend, Sarmiento was appointed commissioner to travel in Europe and the United States to study school systems. During his travels in Europe he made the acquaintance of such men as Cobden, Guizot and Humboldt. Everywhere he was accorded honors and everywhere he left the impression that he was a deep thinker and an enthusiastic educator. Coming to the United States in 1847, where his fame preceded him, he was warmly received in Boston by Channing, Mann, Emerson, Ticknor, Longfellow, Miss Peabody and Dr. Hill, President of Harvard. He lectured before the American Institute of Instruction, attended the Educational Congress of Indianapolis, and later was honored by the University of Michigan, which conferred upon him an honorary Ph. D.

PRESIDENT OF ARGENTINA

Three years after his return to Chile, Sarmiento took an active part in the overthrow of Rosas and returned to Buenos Aires, where he resided after 1855. By this time he was a well-known figure both as a journalist and as an educator. He had published, in addition

to numerous articles in different magazines, six books, most of which dealt with some phase of education. In 1856 he was made Director of Public Instruction, and immediately established a Model College in Buenos Aires. He gave up his position to become Senator in 1859, and the year following he obtained an appropriation of \$100,000 for public schools and was influential in passing a law establishing the office of Minister of Public Instruction, which office he was the first to fill, holding it for four years. In 1864 he was sent as Minister to Chile and Peru, and the following year he was transferred to the United States.

While in the United States Sarmiento was elected President of Argentina in 1868 and served a term of six years. During his administration the war with Paraguay was concluded, railways and telegraphs were established, numerous schools were built, a National College was opened in Buenos Aires and in each of the provinces, the National Observatory was set up, and immigration was vigorously encouraged. Severely criticized by his enemies, he maintained his calm and brought his term of office to a peaceful end. His last years were spent in constant work. Indefatigable in his labors, a clear thinker, and an able orator, he never ceased to uphold the cause of education. He was a Senator until 1886, when his health began to fail and he was obliged to go to Paraguay, where he died in 1888. During his life he wrote more than thirty volumes in addition to numerous articles.

Sarmiento has truly been called the Horace Mann of South America, for he, like his American contemporary and friend, dedicated his life and best energies to the establishment and defense of a public school system. It is undoubtedly to Sarmiento that much of the credit must be given for the raising of Argentina to its present level of culture.

Italian Fascism Developing a New Phase

By CARLETON BEALS

Author of "Rome or Death," "Mexico, An Interpretation," and Other Works

IN Italy crises come and go; but Mussolini, apparently, goes on forever.

Very recently the world was predicting the débâcle of his dictatorial régime; at the present moment Mussolini, having satisfied the turbulent elements of his own party and cowed the Opposition, apparently rides the saddle of power as firmly as when he headed the Three Days' March on Rome and forced the King, willy-nilly, to elevate him to the post of Premier.

Of all my varied impressions during the two years of the rise of the Italian Fascist movement prior to the march on Rome, that of the convention of the National Fascist Party in Naples, in October, 1922, two days before the overthrow of the Facta Cabinet, stands out most vividly. A horde of black-shirted Fascisti tramped and sang their way through the drizzling rain, up and down the steep streets. With their helmets and heavy canes, their tricolors and black banners, they swept into their second annual convention in the Sala Madaloni. A spirit of good-humored grimness prevailed, confident seriousness yet recklessness, a queer blend of post-war cynacism and youthful idealism. The realistic military preparation of the Black Shirts, the threatening speech of Mussolini in the Teatro San Carlo—"not to the Fascisti but to those outside the movement, and particularly to the Government"—his significant remark, "We are at the moment when the arrow parts from the bow or the cord breaks," were incidents that permitted no doubt that Fascism was violently determined to dominate Italy at all costs. Before the end of the month Benito Mussolini had become Dictator-Premier of Italy.

Two years later, in 1924, Mussolini faced his first serious crisis. For a while the murder of the Socialist Deputy

Matteotti, the astonishing disclosures of the prominent ex-Fascist Rossi implicating Mussolini in this and other assassinations, the resignation of de Bono, one of the original directory, the Quadrivirate, and subsequently head of the Prefects, for ordering illegal violence—all these occurrences combined to discredit Mussolini and to drag him into the limelight as a sort of arch-thug maintaining his power by the basest weapons of a Cesare Borgia, intimidation and secret assassination. A rising storm of public disapproval seemed about to engulf the régime. On every hand it was charged that in the last elections the Fascist majority had been obtained by fraud and violence; Signor Torre, a prominent Fascist, led a secession movement in the Piedmont sector, and Mussolini's own party was said to be foundering on the rocks. Wholesale charges of governmental violence—"rassismo"—belied Mussolini's claim to have restored peace and order. Most of the non-Fascist members of the Chamber withdrew "to the Aventine"—after the manner of the plebs in the Roman Republic—where they held angry denunciatory sessions. Many of the leading newspapers were carrying sensational exposés of the Government. The newspapers of France, England and America blazed with such captions as "Mussolini's Back to the Wall," "Fascist Government Crumbling," "Opposition Menaces Mussolini's Position."

But on Jan. 3, 1925, Mussolini seized the bull by the horns. Arrogantly, almost boastfully, he took on himself full

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BENITO MUSSOLINI
Prime Minister of Italy

responsibility for everything that had occurred in Italy during his rule, guaranteeing solemnly "to resolve the political situation within forty-eight hours." He stated: "I am accused of having organized a murder gang on the lines of the Russian Cheka. * * * The truth is that the Italian Cheka has never existed. If I had founded such an organization I would have seen to it that its violence was always intelligent, timely and chivalrous, while the violences attributed to the Cheka which I am accused of founding have always been unintelligent, untimely and stupid." He resumed the traditional Fascist tactic of force. "When two parties fight each other from apparently impregnable positions, then force alone can be the arbiter. * * * Let them [the Opposition] remember that if I had employed in inflaming Fascism a hundredth part of the energy I have employed in restraining it, then indeed there would not be a single enemy of Fascism from one end of Italy to the

other." These are not words of sweet reasonableness; they are spoken with a psychology that an American cannot readily understand. Yet results were forthcoming. Virtual military law was declared throughout the realm; the Fascist "squadrons" were let loose like a pack of hounds to run down their quarry from Sicily to the Alps; the Opposition press was muzzled; wholesale arrests were made, radical headquarters raided and documents seized. The Opposition Deputies on the Aventine (as soon as it was intimated that they would be deprived of their seats and hence their salaries) sneaked back like bad boys to the regular sessions of the Chamber at Montecitorio. The situation was resolved. Mention of Mussolini abruptly dropped from the front to the back pages of the papers. Mussolini had faced a serious crisis, but his power was never really menaced; nor is Fascism likely to come to an early end.

FASCISMO AS A NATIONAL FORCE

In the United States we have harbored many misapprehensions regarding Fascism and its place in Italian life.

First—We have centred our attention upon the international significance of Fascism, which is decidedly different from its national significance and less important. The popular mind in this country sees contemporary European tendencies polarized around Moscow and Rome: one is the dictatorship of the revolutionaries, the other the dictatorship of the reactionaries. The Governments of Russia and Italy are plus or minus, black or white, according to the bias of the particular observer; or, to the liberal, such as Lloyd George, Rome and Moscow are the twin monster children of despotism arisen to combat democratic constitutionalism. Such wholesale generalization is of little value in judging the potentialities of Fascism in relation to Italian affairs. The international significance of Fascism is secondary.

Second—American journalism has failed to recognize the essentially pop-

ular character of Fascism. The Fascist movement, with its strong nationalistic State doctrines, has appealed to people in all walks of life: to the Lombard industrialists, the peasants of the Adriatic delta region, the middle class, the leading syndicalists, the ex-soldier working class elements, patriots, various radical groups. Some of the Socialist leaders early declared themselves pro-Fascist, and even today Mussolini's Cabinet harbors one of the leaders of the once powerful Clerical Party—Il Partito Popolare. The popular supports of Fascism are far broader than those of the Communist régime in Russia.

Third—Most people do not appreciate the deep historical roots of Fascism. Fascism is a post-war projection of the militant Nationalist movement born of Italian unification. There was grafted on to it also the Nationalist-Syndicalist elements. Both Nationalists and Syndicalists derived their phraseology and part of their thought and doctrines from the French founders of syndicalism, Felloutier and Sorel, as is shown by the writings of the Nationalist prophets, Corradini and Pareto. The tradition of violence belonging to these two long-standing groups was further perpetuated and intensified by a third important element in the molding of Fascism—the Arditi, or war shock troops. Thus Fascism early became an expression of the post-war restlessness of the discharged Arditi directed into organized channels by ex-Nationalist and ex-Syndicalist leaders imbued with the dogmas of direct action and Sorelian violence.

SOCIAL CONTROL THROUGH VIOLENCE

Thus it is difficult for the Socialists and Communists to throw stones. To do so means to demolish their own glass houses and cause themselves to stand as naked in the eyes of the general public as the Fascisti. In fact, much of Mussolini's strength is drawn from his realization that the Italian people as a whole have accepted violence as an instrument of social control. "Piazza" (Public Square) demonstration has al-

ways been a determining factor in government; Mussolini has merely seen fit to put violence upon a more organized basis. He has never been a devotee of Liberalism, over the dead body of which he proudly boasts of having trampled; he has never been interested in democratic processes or party freedom since the days when he smashed the ballot box in Predappio, but has boldly accepted violence as an instrument of governmental control whenever his authority has been questioned. In the recent crisis he therefore merely returned to the historically significant Fascist position of "violence to end violence." His position, now as always, is that "violence has its place and self-limiting rhythm." Schooled in the Syndicalist and Socialist principle of direct action, he has also absorbed the credo of the Crocian idealists and the World War apologists that violence cannot be divorced from moral purposes. As early as 1921 he stated: "Our punitive expeditions, all that violence which fills the daily papers, should always be of the character of a just rectification and a legitimate reprisal." And though he has tempered his utterances since the day when, in his first speech before the Chamber of Deputies he declared that the Fascist bomb hurled into the "German" fair of the Chamber of Commerce of Bolzano was "justly administered by way of reprisal" and was an act for which he took upon himself "the moral responsibility," Mussolini now, as then, grounds his power in organized violence, the historic violence of the Nationalist and Syndicalist forebears of Fascism. Fascism, then, has deep historical antecedents and historical precedents for its present tactics.

Fourth—Though Fascism represents historic continuity, the Italian people, on the other hand, have never had the traditions of democracy that are the inheritance of the English-speaking countries. To those of us nursed on English constitutionalism, the actions and pronouncements of Mussolini appear so irrational and unreal that we fail to comprehend what quick, vital



Wide World Photos

Mussolini playing with a bear cub at the Zoological Gardens in Rome

response they find in the national psychology. Since the days of the Roman Empire the Italic peoples have witnessed in their various Governments a singular blending of democratic control (through piazza demonstration and inadequate parliaments), with dictatorial administration. From the days of Rome down to the present the people of the Italian peninsula have recurrently bowed to enlightened despotism. Furthermore, the Italian nation is so new—not having been finally welded until 1870—that the cloak of popular democracy and representative government does not fit comfortably or gracefully upon the body politic. Don Sturzo, the old leader of the Popular Party, at one time declared that the Government, since the time that the House of Savoy declared itself the ruling dynasty of Italy, had had sixty-eight Cabinet changes in a period of seventy-two years, a continuous record of the failure of representative government to

provide consecutive administrative and constructive control. Southern Italy has never had any democracy. Its elections have been farces. Giolitti governed for decades through the Camorra, which effectively maintained Bossism or Cacicquismo in the south and thwarted all social advancement. Popular government has few of the deep roots that it has in England, France or the United States.

POSITIVE RESULTS OF FASCIST REGIME

Fifth—The Mussolini Government has given something for its money. With fewer native resources than France, with a less closely knit national and social structure, Italy has balanced its budget. Deficits of railways and telegraphs, which at one time totaled nearly 2,000,000,000 lire annually, have been eliminated. Since 1923 the internal debt has been reduced 3,000,000,000 lire. Between 1921 and 1924 the value of imports remained approximately stationary while exports increased more than 50 per cent., cutting the unfavorable trade balance in half. Bank deposits during this same period increased 30 per cent. If Mussolini has carried the spoils system, with an Andrew Jackson ruthlessness, into every governmental activity, nevertheless he has exacted efficient service in Government bureaus and industries. The railroads run smoothly and on time with a smaller working force and increased mileage. Indemnities for thefts of baggage and consignments loss, retarded shipments, which in 1920-21 were 3,000 per cent. greater than those paid in 1913-14 (Pier Occhini, *La Crisi Agraria*, p. 84), have been reduced to normal. Also Mussolini has set himself earnestly to work to solve Italy's emigration problems. Italy's population has increased rapidly since peace was signed and is now greater than that of France. With emigration to the United States practically barred, Mussolini was obliged to provide other outlets. Remarkable facilities have been given to all emigrants going to Italy's colonies, Tripoli and Erythria. Treaties have been estab-

lished with the various Governments of South America to promote Italian settlement. Mexico, it is stated, is prepared to receive half a million immigrants and provide them with land on a time-payment basis.

Sixth—Our newspapers and magazines have been inclined to consider Mussolini as a sort of playboy, a poseur, a publicity getter. We laugh at his Beau Brummell ways, his Napoleonic photographs, his extravagant proposal to outrival New York by building the highest skyscraper in the world. We have not allowed sufficiently for the Italian temperament, nor have we appreciated Mussolini's own penetration into the psychology of his people, for whom the gesture is ever more important than the deed. Like the Roman Emperors, to succeed he must provide a good circus. And, though Mussolini may be an opportunist, his violence, the Fascist revolution, the dictatorship—all have proceeded with a direct, provisioned purposefulness. Mussolini, in his days of exile in Switzerland and as editor of the Socialist paper, *Avanti*, acquired tactical theories of revolution and dictatorship which he has followed with the methodical precision of a chess player. In the Library for American Studies in Rome, I spent two weeks dictating to a stenographer translations of all of Mussolini's speeches then in print. Taken collectively, they reveal, besides a definite theory of violence—violence asserted to have a definite character and a moral usefulness when used "within limits"—also a definite theory of revolution with regard to the military weapons to be employed, with regard to the scope and functioning of the resultant dictatorship. I am not an advocate of Mussolini's political theories, but the admission must be made that they have worked thus far in Italy. Mussolini is something more than a playboy. No other important Minister in Europe has governed as long as has Mussolini.

To summarize: The interpretation of Fascism from the viewpoint of its international significance (so purely a secondary matter) has concealed from us

its national vitality and permanence. Likewise, we have failed to appreciate the popular, almost fanatic, enthusiasm of Mussolini's supporters; nor have we taken into account the deep historical roots of Fascism and the superficiality of the Italian democracy. The Fascist régime has definite material accomplishments to its record, but our prejudice against Mussolini's extravagant gestures has prevented us from justly appraising his force, talents and tactical genius and the power of the movement he represents.

A SPECTACULAR REACTION

Furthermore, the rise of Fascism is a spectacular reaction to the post-war political and social disintegration in Italy, a state of affairs analogous to the disintegration following the achievement of Italian unity. Three tendencies: nationalistic-liberal (Cavour, Crespi), revolutionary (Mazzini-Garibaldi), Catholic (Papal leadership), went into the making of Italy and have persisted to the present time. Liberalism, in various guises, remained at the helm of the Italian States. The Nationalists (Corradini), the revolutionaries (perpetuated in the Syndicalist and Socialist movements), the Catholics (Conservatives guided by the "Non Expedit" of the Holy See; radicals welded into the Christian Democratic group led by Toniolo) were forced into opposition to the Government and reappeared in the post-war period as the Fascisti (Mussolini), the Socialists (Turati and Serati), and the Popular Party (Don Sturzo), all opposed to the liberal bureaucracy (Giolitti). The Fascisti represented a welding of the Nationalists and the Syndicalists and a gradual synthesizing of widely separated forces and groups; but the Socialist Party, which had risen to three times its pre-war strength and was the most powerful party in Parliament, was soon shaken by two schisms and undermined by constant discord. The Popular Party made the tactical mistake of manoeuvring for Parliamentary control instead of for power.

Through this broken pattern of the

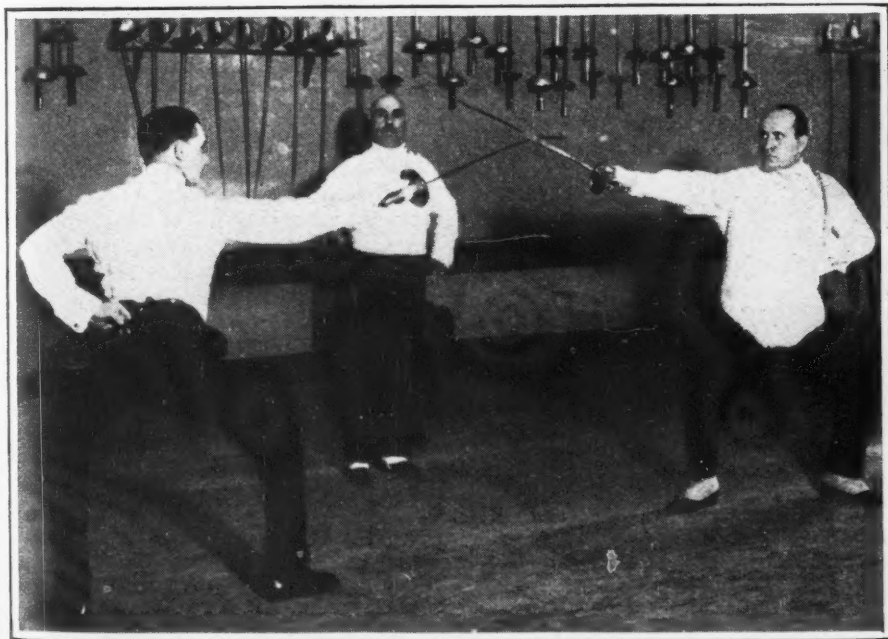
politics of the post-war, the Fascist movement progressed (much like a magnet under iron filings) toward the goal of State control. Fascism became an attempt to synthesize proletarian violence, as represented in the factory seizures, with Nationalist violence, as represented by the Fiumian foray of d'Annunzio, to destroy the effective value of both organized movements, attract the shattered factions into the Fascist camp, hold the violence of both within limits, directing it against the weak and corrupt liberal bureaucracy to establish a state of potential worth.

OPPOSITION IMPOTENT

Thus the opposition to Fascism—Socialist, Catholic, bureaucratic—had disintegrated even before Fascism gained power. And the Opposition has remained disintegrated ever since. The shattered groups were further weakened by frequent desertions to the Fascist ranks. Today there are seven Opposition parties (the remnants of the Catholic Popular Party, Democrats of two

brands, Socialists of two brands, Republicans, Sardis and Communists. No unifying principle, other than opposition to Fascism, cements them; and the Communists especially refuse to cooperate in forming a single Opposition bloc. Even if harmony of purpose could be instilled into the Opposition, the overthrow of the Fascist Government, which is buttressed up by the ever-ready bayonets of the Black Guards, is an unlikely event. Mussolini will not relinquish his hold without a struggle; time and again he has threatened, should representative and democratic practices endanger the stability of the Fascist revolution, to dispense with Parliament entirely. And Mussolini has learned wisdom from his own revolutionary career. He stated in Trieste (Feb. 6, 1921):

Revolution is not a boîte-à-surprise that jumps up at pleasure. I do not carry it in my pocket, and neither do those carry it with them whose names fill all mouths loudly and who, for practical action, do nothing but riot in the piazzas. * * * Today history teaches that revolution is made with the army, not against the army; with arms, not without



Mussolini practicing fencing

Wide World Photos

arms; with the movements of drilled groups, not with amorphous masses called into piazza demonstrations.

Nor, when we come to examine the possible leaders who might head a drive upon Mussolini, is the prospect of overthrow much greater. Four personalities, aside from Mussolini, stand out in Italian politics: d'Annunzio, Peppino Garibaldi, Carlo Delcroix, Giolitti.

Of these d'Annunzio retains the greatest prestige and commands the widest following. In Italy he is a literary patriarch, a great patriot and a daring hero. He has direct political influence. Because of his war patriotism, his fight for Fiume (pricked bubble that it was), his relations with the powerful seamen's union, his unique popularity, he could, even before the march on Rome, have snatched away the leadership of the Fascist Party. He never gave public endorsement to Mussolini. At the time of the Fascist coup, he sent the dictator a note of caution and the King a warm message of personal allegiance. D'Annunzio intervened to protect the Seamen's Federation shortly after Mussolini came into power; and, when the Fascist terror was at its height, a number of radical labor leaders found refuge in his villa in Gardone. His recent flirtation with international brotherhood and world peace has given him a halo for the Liberals. But, on the other hand, his inordinate vanity has recently been flattered by the title of Prince, and he has accepted a large villa as a gift from the Fascist Government. Acceptances such as these do not point to any intention of immediate open opposition. Also he has permitted various d'Annunzio clubs to be raided and suppressed by the Prefects and Black Guards without a murmur of protest.

Peppino Garibaldi is the grandson of the Italian liberator, schooled in the soldier-of-fortune tradition. He has been busily organizing Italia Libera associations in Italy and among the thousands of émigrés in France. The adherents wear red shirts in memory of the old volunteers of his grandfather, the famous Thousand, which liberated the Kingdom

of Naples from the Bourbon despotism. Though these associations have attained considerable notoriety, Mussolini has suppressed most of them without real difficulty.

Delcroix, a Fascist Deputy, is an astoundingly brilliant orator, who has gained universal sympathy because of his loss of both eyes and both hands during the war. He has attacked many of the Fascist policies and is the spokesman of the war veterans; but on the whole he cannot be truly said to belong to the Opposition or to command any widely organized following.

Giolitti, the astute ex-Premier of Italy, is over 80 now, but he is still a master tactician in the strategy of politics. Time and again, during the hectic post-war period he shuffled the various factions in Parliament as a gambler might shuffle a deck of "fake" cards. He still controls the largest non-revolutionary group outside of the Fascisti. But although he can harass Mussolini, along with the other ex-Premiers Salandra and Orlando, his great age, his psychology of political manipulation and trickery, his bureaucratic training, all bar him from effectively swinging the Opposition into an open and successful attack upon the Government.

Fascism, in spite of its violent tactics and its international black sheep reputation, represents a long-standing historic tendency in Italian life, the tendency that created unification and subsequently led to the imperialistic annexations of Crespi, to the war with Turkey and to Italy's participation in the Great War. Fascism is an expression of the self-centred, raucous adolescence of a nation without governmental traditions of order and liberty in the sense that these are possessed by France and England. Fascism represents a historic phase in the development of new nations eager for a stabilized government which will promote unity and glory. Fascism is a tendency that has been gathering force for fifty years; it is not a temporary movement, but a force that must be reckoned with in Italy for years to come.

The Relentless Trend of Events in Soviet Russia

By A. J. SACK

THE Russian problem still remains unsolved. The realities of the Russian political and economic situation of today confirm what was clearly demonstrated at the conferences at Genoa and The Hague three years ago—that the Russian problem must be solved from within, before effective help can be rendered Russia from the outside.

Speaking in practical terms, this problem today, as far as the outside world is concerned, is an investment problem. Economically Russia is in a deplorable state, and the need of foreign capital for her resurrection is recognized even by the Bolsheviks. But, as Mr. Lloyd George pointed out in his address before the House of Commons on April 3, 1922, Russia "will not get capital without security, confidence and peace, internal as well as external."

Since then the world witnessed the ascendancy of the Labor Government in Great Britain and the recognition of the Bolshevik Government by the Governments of Great Britain and France. Nevertheless, foreign capital is still shy so far as investment in Russia is concerned, and what Mr. Lloyd George outlined three years ago as conditions "on which we can found peace," still remains true. These conditions, as explained by the then British Prime Minister, are "respect for private property, respect for the rights of individuals, fair play for those who make investments there (in Russia), acknowledgement of honorable debts incurred by people who put their savings, very often of a lifetime, into Russian investments." Mr. Lloyd George emphasized—and this

also remains true—that relations with Bolshevik Russia "depend not merely on the conditions which Russia is prepared to accept, but upon the actual proof which she can give us of her bona fides."

Such is the Russian problem from the outside point of view. But this is not the most important aspect of the present Russian situation. The conflict between the two conceptions of Capitalism and Communism, outside of Russia, is secondary in importance to the conflict inside of Russia, the conflict between Bolshevism and Democracy. Here and here alone lies the fundamental conflict of the Russian revolution. Miss Emma Goldman once stated that "the Russian revolution as a radical social and economic change meant to overthrow Capitalism and establish Communism must be declared a failure." This is true, but the bankruptcy of the Bolshevik experiment does not at all mean the "crushing of the revolution," as Miss Goldman pessimistically declares it to be.

The Russian revolution never meant to "overthrow capitalism and establish Communism." The Russian revolution means a change from autocracy to democratic institutions; its main social content was and remains the passing of the land to the peasants. Nothing can return Russia to the régime of the Czars, and nothing can take the land away from the peasants. Bolshevism as a stage in the development of the Russian revolution is already on the wane, as recognized by all observers, and when it passes, Russia will be established as a democracy with capitalist economics. Thus, the revolution will have accomplished all that it could accomplish, considering the historical conditions under which Russia and the world live today.

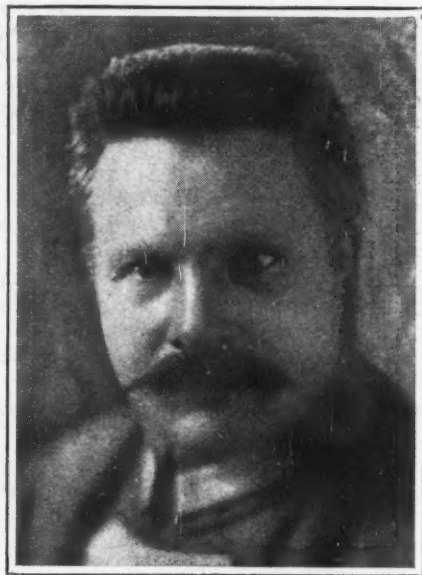
There are, unfortunately, some who

Mr. Sack was formerly (1917-1922) an appointee of the Prince Lvov and Kerensky Governments, as spokesman in the United States for the Russian democratic, anti-Bolshevik parties. He is the author of an important history of the Russian revolution, "The Birth of the Russian Democracy."

believe that the defeat of Bolshevism will mean "the crushing of the revolution," if not in Miss Goldman's sense, then in the sense of Russia's return to the old régime. These people can think of only two extremes for Russia—Bolshevism or Czarism—and of no middle course in Russia's political and social development. It is true that there are reactionaries inside, and especially outside of Russia. The extreme absolutism of the Bolshevik rule and the disintegration brought about by the Bolshevik régime in Russia have strengthened the hopes of those who see Russia's salvation in a return to Czarism, but a careful analysis of the Russian situation will show clearly that the monarchists have no chance whatever for success.

Disillusioned as the Russian masses are in Bolshevism, they still demand certain things which they did not possess under the Czar's régime, and which reflect their most vital interests. The peasants of Russia want to own the land now in their actual possession, and they will not follow any party whose aim it is to deprive them of this land. The workingmen of Russia want freedom of organization, and legislation that would protect their individual and civic rights. The various nationalities comprising Russia want full equality before the law and freedom of their national development. They will not follow the reactionaries, whose aim was and remains oppression of the national minorities and whose psychology so greatly resembles the autocratic and intolerant psychology of the Bolsheviks.

The old régime, its economic and social foundation, as well as its psychology, have been destroyed completely by the revolution. An endeavor to bring Russia back by force to Czarism, to the situation that is primarily responsible for her present misfortune, would meet with the opposition of the democratic elements throughout the world, and Russia under the rule of the reactionaries would remain as isolated as she is now under the Bolshevik rule. At the same time, Russia's resurrection is unthinkable without extensive



Wide World Photos

MIKHAIL FRUNZE

People's Commissar of the Army and Navy of the U. S. S. R. in succession to Trotsky

foreign credits and support. The monarchist rule, in effect, would be a continuation of the Bolshevik rule, with the same oppression of the people, the same lack of constructive ability and the same isolation of Russia from the outside world.

PEASANT PRESSURE BRINGS REFORMS

The development of the Russian revolution since 1917 clearly indicates that the peasants, recognizing themselves as the mainspring of Russia's existence, want not only to retain the land but also to rule the land. It was their opposition that destroyed the Kolchak and Denikin movements as soon as reactionary tendencies gained the upper hand in these movements, and now it is also their opposition that is undermining the Red autocracy of Bolshevism. It was the opposition of the peasant masses, the economic pressure they brought to bear upon the Bolshevik régime, that forced Lenin four years ago to introduce the "New Economic Policy." The most outstanding fact in

Russian life today, the recent special conference in the Kremlin, which took place from Jan. 5-7 of this year and the purpose of which was to deal with the present situation in the Russian villages, especially with the peasants' attitude toward the Bolshevik Government, was brought about by new and vigorous pressure on the part of the peasant masses. Mr. Kalinin, who presided over this conference, made the following statement, according to the *Izvestiya*, No. 5, 1925:

The population has been relieved from the military sufferings, and from the immense economic suffering in general. We witness at this moment the revival of cultural and political interests in the population, a fact which should not be ignored by the Government or by the Communist party. A Government which ignores new forces and is incapable of diverting these forces into a desirable channel—such a Government is doomed.

The parallel between the situation in 1920-1921 and the present situation was made at this conference by Mr. Zinoviev, head of the Third International. Mr. Zinoviev spoke as follows (*Izvestiya*, No. 10, 1925):

In 1920-21 we also witnessed an increased political activity in our villages [the events in Siberia; the Kronstadt uprising; the peasant uprisings in the Tambov region, and so forth]. At that time there was an increase of activity in the background of economic disintegration. Now we must deal again with an increase of political activity in our villages, due to economic recovery. This new phenomenon may tend to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, provided we do not make great mistakes.

Mr. Steklov, in his address at the same conference, thus explained the attitude of the peasant masses towards the Bolshevik Government (*Izvestiya*, No. 4):

During the period of military communism, the peasantry was subjected to all kinds of excesses on the part of the Administration. But now the peasants will not tolerate this. The situation has changed: the military fronts have disappeared; we have free trade; we have the new economic policy, and it is natural that under these conditions there is a tendency among the peasants to greater inde-

pendence, to a more active participation in the Government and to a greater manifestation of their wishes.

Mr. Kisielev, Secretary of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, was even more outspoken in his statement before the conference. He thus described the situation (*Izvestiya*, No. 8):

In accordance with my information, the main cause of the dissatisfaction among the peasants is not only due to the taxes which they have to pay; there is considerable talk among the peasants that the Soviets should be without Communists. This is the main point, which we have to consider.

A NEW POLITICAL POLICY

It was on the basis of this frank presentation of the situation in several addresses at the conference that Chairman Kalinin formulated a new Bolshevik policy—this time not an economic but a new political policy—as follows:

We will have to strengthen the non-partisan spirit in the Soviets. * * * We will have to increase the number of non-partisan members, and to invite them to participate closely in the Government. It is necessary that the masses should see that the Government consists not of Communists alone; it is necessary they should see that the non-partisan elements are given a place in Administration.

As is known from the general press, the result of this conference was the cancellation by the Bolshevik Government of the recent elections to the Soviets in the regions where "actions and omissions in connection with the elections" have taken place and where "the electors have not adequately participated in the elections." The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the "Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics" directed that:

In all those places where the above irregularities have taken place the elections be voided and new elections to the Soviets be instituted, particular care being taken that in these new elections the broad masses of workers and peasants should participate widely and that they likewise share more actively in all the work of the Soviets and their affiliated organizations.

Only time will show whether the re-

forms instituted by the conference in the Kremlin are far-reaching enough to counteract the widespread dissatisfaction among the Russian peasant masses. The writer feels quite skeptical about it. At any rate, the gathering in the Kremlin supplies additional material for an answer to the most important question in the entire Russian situation, and that is: Where do the Russian masses, the peasant masses, comprising more than 85 per cent. of Russia's population, stand in this historical struggle?

Twenty years ago, during the revolution of 1905, the Russian peasantry, in their struggle for land and political rights, declared themselves openly against the Czarist absolutism. In the beginning of the revolution the Czar's Government treated it as an urban movement, thinking, as some well-meaning writers with liberal reputation think today, that the Russian peasants are illiterate and politically ignorant. Consequently the law governing the elections to the Duma was arranged to give the peasants a fair representation in that body. The result, however, was quite surprising for the Czar's Government. The peasant delegates, upon their arrival in Petrograd, declared themselves against the old régime and associated themselves in the Duma partly with the Constitutional-Democratic Party (led by Paul Miliukov) and partly with the Labor group (later led by Alexander Kerensky).

The first revolution of 1905 was defeated, but its fires continued to smolder underground. The World War at the beginning arrested but then intensified this underground process, and finally, in March, 1917, the Czarist régime was overthrown.

The dynamic development of the revolution carried the pendulum of Russian life to the other extreme, to Bolshevism. Under war conditions the movement against Bolshevism necessarily took the form of a military struggle. The so-called white, anti-Bolshevist movement gradually became black, the monarchists gaining ascendancy in it.



V. V. KUIBISCHEV
People's Commissar of Workers and Peasants' Inspection of the U. S. S. R.

Finding themselves between the devil of Bolshevism and the deep sea of monarchist reaction, the Russian peasant masses turned against reaction and defeated the Kolchak and Denikin movements.

But as soon as intervention and military fronts disappeared, the peasants turned against Bolshevism and the pressure they brought to bear in 1920 forced the adoption of the "new economic policy." Now, with the beginning of economic restoration, the peasants press further; they demand political rights, and it is their slow but sure pressure that brings about new concessions from the Kremlin.

Thus, the pendulum of the Russian revolution, after touching the extreme of Bolshevism, is gradually but irresistibly swinging back to the middle course of democratic development. New life is developing under the shell of Bolshevism, the shell which is daily becoming thinner and thinner. Every step in

European regeneration contributes to this process of regeneration of Russia. The Russian problem was and remains a part of the European and the world problem, and the healing of the Russian wound is greatly facilitated by the healing processes affecting the tissue around this wound. In this sense, the Dawes plan, successfully introduced and now operating in Europe, is a death blow to Bolshevism. It means an international isolation of the Bolshevik disease, just as the recovery in Russia and the awakening of the Russian masses mean a national isolation of the Bolshevik régime.

With the development of new life in Russia and outside of Russia the shell of Bolshevism is growing thinner and thinner. No one can prophesy when and how the shell will break, but it seems that this moment is not far off. Due to the ripeness of the processes under the shell, it will break most probably without much noise, without much, if any, bloodshed; and, when it breaks, new Russia will appear before the world.

RUSSIANS NOT IMPRACTICAL

Those who know Russia know that her recuperative powers will yet astonish the world. For the Russians are not at all impractical visionaries, as some of the writers, friendly to Russia, but without much knowledge in their possession, would like to represent them. Neither are the Russian people "entirely illiterate, grossly materialistic and politically indifferent," as Mr. H. G. Wells would like us to think they are, according to his well-known book on Russia, the book which he wrote after a two weeks' stay in Moscow. The nation which in the nineteenth century alone produced scientists like Mendeleyev, Metchnikov, Lebedev and Pavlov; musicians like Glinka, Tchaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov and Skriabin; novelists like Gogol, Dostoyevsky, Turgenev and Tolstoy; poets like Pushkin, Lermontov, Balmont and Blok—the nation that produced this flower of intelligence and spirit cannot, and should not, be treated as "entirely illiterate and grossly materialistic."

The other extreme, the interpretation of the Russian people as wonderful and great in spirit, but powerless in the practice of life, must also be discarded. The fundamental fact of the upbuilding of the great Russian State, stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific and from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, not only by force of arms but also, and mostly, by strenuous toil and persistent struggle against adverse and difficult natural conditions, proves Russia to be a nation of stern pioneers, capable of building up and governing their own lives.

In the recent history of Russia, the tremendous, unprecedented development of the cooperative movement is another instance of the same practical, all-conquering spirit of the Russian people. In spite of the adverse conditions under the Czarist régime, the Russian cooperative movement in 1913, after half a century of development, had a membership of about 12,000,000 and influenced about 60,000,000 people, or one-third of the entire Russian population.

The remarkable industrial, commercial and financial development of Russia for the last half a century, and especially during the decade between the



NIKOLAI BUKHARIN

One of the leaders of the Russian Communist Party and editor of Pravda

Russo-Japanese war and the World War, is another instance of the same practicability of the Russian spirit. During this period, Russia's national wealth had almost doubled. Before the Russo-Japanese war, in 1901, Russia produced 16,750,000 tons of coal. Just before the World War, Russia was producing more than 40,000,000 tons annually. The quantity of pig iron production was more than doubled during the years just preceding the World War, reaching an amount of more than 5,000,000 tons annually. Agricultural production in Russia developed along the same lines. The yield in 1901 was 54,167,000 tons, and in 1911 it amounted to 74,168,000 tons.

The number of commercial enterprises in Russia increased from 862,000 in 1901 to 1,177,000 in 1911. Just before the war the number of Russian commercial enterprises totaled about 1,500,000. The capital of the joint-stock companies increased about half a billion dollars since 1911, reaching a total of \$2,022,150,000 before the war. The money in Russian banks and in circulation increased from \$918,000,000 to \$1,938,000,000 during the decade before the war, an increase of about 111 per cent. The deposits in the Russian State Bank, societies for mutual credit, commercial banks and city banks on Jan. 1, 1913, amounted to \$1,669,230,000, about \$1,000,000,000 more than on Jan. 1, 1903. The deposits in the Russian savings banks multiplied from \$399,840,000 in 1903 to \$812,940,000 in 1913. During the ten years between the Russo-Japanese and the World War, Russia's wealth, in general, had almost doubled.

FAITH IN RUSSIA JUSTIFIED

In Russia's very recent history, the striking phenomenon of Bolshevism is also but a manifestation of the strength and tremendous potentiality of the Russian spirit, even in its dislocation. Under normal conditions, without the terrible oppression of the Czarist régime, under which Lenin, Trotsky and their friends lived and suffered for many

years, many of them, especially Lenin and Trotsky, would have developed into constructive statesmen of great prominence. Oppressed and exiled, with their bodies and spirit in continuous starvation, they developed the idea of a violent revolution throughout the world as the only means to change and to improve the world. Their idea was and remains wrong; their practice was and remains horrible and oppressive; the writer, among others, fought them, their ideas and their practice, and, within the limitations of his power, will continue to fight them as long as their régime or their ideas remain. But, at the same time, he cannot but recognize that even the phenomenon of Bolshevism stands for one thing, continually manifested throughout Russian history, and that is, a nation with tremendous unspent spiritual and material resources, just starting on its way. The temporary disintegration brought about by the revolution is not a factor that can mar the record of Russian history or inspire pessimism as to Russia's future. In this respect, the wisest words ever spoken on the important subject of Russia belong to Elihu Root, who, in his address in New York on Dec. 29, 1919, thus reviewed the Russian situation as compared with similar movements in the history of the world:

I have lost no faith in the future of Russia. It is but a short time since the Czar was dethroned. We made our Declaration of Independence in 1776 and, amid turmoil and confusion and dissension, we reached a settled Government only in 1790. * * * And we had the advantage of great and then unprecedented experience in the art of government, for we had been building up self-government for a century and a half when our American Revolution came.

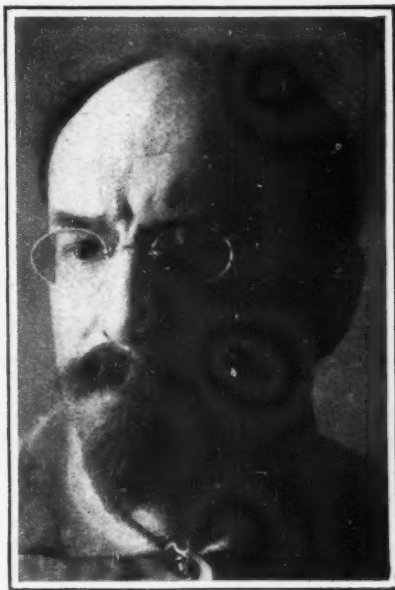
How long was it before France—France, with all her culture, her science, her art, her literature, her polite manners—before France achieved her Revolution and settled Government after it. In 1793 she beheaded Louis XVI., and then came the Terror and the Directorate and the Empire and the Restoration and the Second Republic and the Second Empire; and two generations passed before she reached her goal of settled popular government.

The English beheaded Charles I. in 1649.

How long was it before England attained settled conditions? Eleven years later she so despaired of the success of her attempt to secure popular freedom that she went back in the restoration of Charles II., and it was not until what the English called the Revolution of 1688, nearly forty years later, that her affairs became settled.

Long before the expiration of the periods in which any of the nations now at the forefront of popular self-government achieved settled conditions, long before that period has elapsed, I look to see Russia work out her own questions; work them out as she is working them out now, through bloodshed and suffering and travail, to the consummation of a strong and competent democratic republic.

It was my privilege, as an appointee of the Prince Lvov and Kerensky Governments, to voice in this country the attitude of the Russian democracy, opposed to Bolshevism, toward various problems of national and international importance. I was in close touch with Prince Lvov * during his visits to this country, and I recall our last meeting at the Hotel Seville, in New York City, about two and a half months ago. We passed an evening together, and I left him after midnight, deeply impressed by the range of his interest in the world's affairs and by his optimistic attitude toward the problems of Russia and of the world at that moment. Current politics, philosophy and religion; the awakening in the East; Russia and



A. LUNACHARSKY

People's Commissar of Education and a dramatist whose recent plays have been successfully performed in Moscow

Europe, and, above all, America and her attitude toward the problems of European and Russian reconstruction—all this figured in our talk, at the conclusion of which Prince Lvov summarized his views and impressions as follows:

The dreary night is over everywhere. Idealism and democratic statesmanship are coming into their own. Europe is recovering already, and Russia's final recovery is not far behind. America stands ready to help Europe and she will help us too, when we are ready. The time is not very distant when Russia will emerge before the eyes of the world as a free, democratic State, as the United States of Russia, and the friendship between the democratic republics of Russia and America will prove a powerful factor for peace and happiness throughout the world.

These were practically his last words to me. When he spoke them, I forgot that he was an old, tired man. There was fire in his eyes, and his voice sounded young and powerful. The great spirit behind these words, which embody a clear-sighted analysis of the Russian situation as it is today and as it will be tomorrow, belongs to Russia; and it belongs to all humanity.

*Prince Georgii Eugenievitch Lvov, Russian statesman and Prime Minister of the First and Second Russian Provisional Governments subsequent to the fall of the Romanovs in 1917, was born in 1861 and died in Paris on March 7, 1925. An aristocrat by birth, Prince Lvov became imbued with liberal principles when a youth, and devoted his life to reform work. In 1917 he contributed directly to the overthrow of the Czar's Government. As the head of the All-Russian Zemstvos Union he supplied the Russian Army at the front during the first critical war years; his liberal influence on the commanding Generals, with whom his official position brought him into contact, is believed to have been partly responsible for the final weakening of the Czar's hold upon the army. On the overthrow of the Czar, Prince Lvov accepted the Premiership on March 14, 1917. A Ministerial crisis on May 17 brought about the formation of a Coalition Government with Lvov again at its head. His Administration, however, failed to bring about harmony, and on July 7 it was succeeded by the first Kerensky Government. Prince Lvov left Russia following the Bolshevik revolution and, settling in Paris, he devoted the last years of his life to educational work among the children of the Russian refugees.—EDITOR.

The New Russo-Japanese Treaty Explained

By A. L. P. DENNIS

Professor of History and International Relations, Clark University; author of "Foreign Policies of Soviet Russia."

THE new agreement between Soviet Russia and Japan, signed at Peking on Jan. 21, 1925, was the fruit of long and repeated negotiations over a period of three and a half years. To understand the significance of this historic document and the new situation it creates the first fact we need to recall is that Japanese troops had been on Russian soil from the organization of the joint expedition sent by the allied and associated powers to Siberia in the Summer of 1918. Shortly after the abandonment of this attempted temporary occupation of Siberian territory all troops of the powers were withdrawn with the single exception of the Japanese, the American forces having been evacuated early in 1920.

At the Washington Arms Conference, in 1922, Baron Shidehara (then Japanese Ambassador Washington and now Foreign Secretary at Tokio) stated that it was "the fixed and settled policy of Japan to respect the territorial integrity of Russia and to observe the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of that country, as well as the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in every part of the Russian possessions." The withdrawal of Japanese troops, he implied, was conditional on a number of things, including a commercial agreement, the protection of Japanese citizens in Siberia, the restoration of order, the prohibition of Bolshevik propaganda from over the Siberian border and the establishment of a responsible authority in Siberia with whom Japan could negotiate regarding satisfaction for the alleged massacre of Japanese citizens. This statement was really a public response to an earlier note of the United States, of May 31,

1921, in which the view was taken that the continued military occupation of parts of Siberia was contrary to pledges which had been made by Japan. Secretary Hughes then said for the American Government:

In view of its conviction that the course followed by the Government of Japan brings into question the very definite understanding concluded at the time troops were sent to Siberia, the Government of the United States must in candor explain its position and say to the Japanese Government that the Government of the United States can neither now nor hereafter recognize as valid any claims or titles arising out of the present occupation and control.

On Jan. 24, 1922, the Secretary of State summed the matter up by saying that he understood that "these [Japanese] assurances are taken to mean that Japan does not seek through her military occupation of Siberia. * * * to obtain any unfair commercial advantages * * * or to set up an exclusive exploitation either of the resources of Sakhalin or of the Maritime Provinces." Further, on Feb. 9, 1922, Secretary Hughes said that the various Japanese statements constituted "a pledge which no doubt will be fully redeemed. While Japan has not fixed the date for the withdrawal of her troops from Siberia, she has renounced all claims of territorial aggrandizement, of political domination, or of exclusive or preferential privilege." Meantime, however, Japanese troops occupied Vladivostok, Khabarovsk and Nikolsk together with portions of the seacoast of Siberia. They also occupied Northern Sakhalin, as the result of the incident at Nikolaievsk, on the mainland opposite, in which both Japanese and Russians had lost their lives.

The situation was discussed at length at a conference held at Dairen between Japan and the Far Eastern Republic (with Soviet Russia as an unofficial but influential observer). This Dairen conference broke up in April, 1922, without results. The issue flared out in angry fashion for a moment at the Genoa conference. Shortly afterward the Japanese announced that they would evacuate the mainland of Siberia, which they did in October. In September, 1922, still another conference was held at Changchun. This time Joffe for Soviet Russia was officially present. Yet this also failed to secure an agreement, largely because Japan refused to treat with Soviet Russia on an equal basis until affairs were cleared with the Far Eastern Republic. The nominal reason given was the Russian refusal to recognize responsibility with regard to the Nikolaievsk affair, and thus the Japanese continued in military occupation of Northern Sakhalin. Finally Joffe, who was said to be in poor health, went to Japan for treatment and to negotiate

with Viscount Goto, a Japanese liberal statesman, who was at that time Mayor of Tokio. These conversations dragged for months during 1923; Joffe returned to Russia; the great earthquake came in September; and later Karakhan from the Soviet Foreign Office went to Peking. There he renewed the negotiations, this time with Yoshizawa, the resident Japanese Minister. Throughout 1924 the exchange of views went on until finally the present agreement was signed, early in 1925.

CHANGE IN JAPANESE OPINION

An interesting change in Japanese public opinion had in the meanwhile gradually taken place. The decision to join in the Siberian expedition was a wartime decision. As time went on the heavy costs of the military occupation had impressed the minds of business men. No adequate economic return had followed. Furthermore, at the Washington Arms Conference, the able Japanese delegation had received the impression that a policy of cooperation



Wide World Photos

The signing of the Russo-Japanese Treaty in Peking on Jan. 21, 1925; K. Yoshizawa, the Japanese envoy, who was sick at the time, sitting on the side of his bed to sign the documents, and L. Karakhan, the Soviet representative, at the table in the foreground

rather than of selfish military aggrandizement was in the long run likely to be of benefit to Japan. The mainland of Siberia was therefore evacuated. Then came the revised attitude as to Russia. The Chambers of Commerce of Japan passed resolutions favoring the settlement of affairs with the Soviet authorities. The Far Eastern Republic had disappeared, absorbed by Moscow, in November, 1922. Now it was possible to deal directly with Moscow. Still the Japanese Foreign Office held back; indeed, at times it seemed as though they did not really know what they wanted. Certainly it was plain, however, that Siberia was enormously rich in those natural resources which were so important for Japanese development. So from an economic point of view the decision to come to an agreement finally had the overwhelming support of public opinion.

Bolshevik propaganda, of which much play had been made previously, now seemed no longer so important. Furthermore, it was a fact that Soviet Russia had tried to increase her power in China. A treaty had been signed with China in the Spring of 1924 and Karakhan was now Soviet Ambassador at Peking. It was no part of Japanese policy to permit Russia to re-establish her traditional influence in Northern China at a time when Chinese affairs were in such complete confusion and when revolutionary propaganda was disturbing the minds of the youth of the land. So from the point of view of Far Eastern international policy it also seemed wiser to come to terms with Soviet Russia. Almost all the European States had some sort of relations with her. Why not Japan, who was her near neighbor? Thus all these and other reasons led up to the agreement, the main terms of which we will now set forth:

1. The convention provides for the full recognition of Soviet Russia by Japan and for the prompt establishment of diplomatic and consular relations between the two countries. The Russian Embassy at Tokio is restored to the Soviet authorities with the provision that,

in case the new plans for the rebuilding of Tokio involve the use of that property, proper arrangements shall be made for a new Russian Embassy.

2. The Russian Government recognizes the Treaty of Portsmouth; but other treaties between Japan and Russia are to be re-examined and "are liable to revision or annulment," as the case may be. This naturally postpones the question of the four secret treaties signed in 1907, 1910, 1912 and 1916, which provided for the establishment of spheres of influence in China by Czarist Russia and Japan. Furthermore, the Fisheries Convention of 1907 is to be revised. In the meantime the Japanese are to enjoy rights to fish in Siberian waters. This, of course, is of great importance to Japanese interests, which employ many men and have large sums invested in this trade.

3. A treaty of commerce and navigation is promised, which is to rest on the ordinary principles of the rights to enter, travel and reside by citizens of either country. Private ownership of property "in accordance with the laws of the country" and full liberty to trade are mutually pledged, "it being the intention of both parties to place the commerce, navigation and industry of each country, as far as possible, on the footing of the most favored nation." It is the intention of the Soviet Government to grant "concessions for the exploitation of minerals, forests and other natural resources" to Japanese citizens.

4. Propaganda is dealt with in Article V of the convention, which reads as follows:

The High Contracting Parties solemnly affirm their desire and intention to live in peace and amity with each other, scrupulously to respect the undoubted right of a State to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way, to refrain and to restrain all persons in any governmental service for them, and all organizations in receipt of any financial assistance from them, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatsoever to endanger the order and security in any part of the territories of Japan or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

It is further agreed that neither Contract-

ing Party shall permit the presence in the territories under its jurisdiction: (a) of organizations or groups pretending to be the government for any part of the territories of the other Party, or (b) of alien subjects or citizens who may be found to be actually carrying on political activities for such organizations or groups.

(5) Protocol A deals, among other things, with the question of debts by the simple plan of postponing discussion of the matter. It is stipulated, however, that Japan is not to be placed in a less favorable position than any other third party which claims the payment of debts by Russia. Claims for damages are also "reserved for adjustment at subsequent negotiations." The Russian debt to Japan is relatively not large, while the Russian claims for damages resulting from the prolonged Japanese occupation of Siberian territory are presumably enormous.

JAPAN TO WITHDRAW TROOPS

(6) The Japanese Government agrees to withdraw its troops from Northern Sakhalin by May 15, 1925, in view of a separate note attached to the Convention in which regret is expressed by Soviet Russia for the Nikolaievsk incident. Thus disappear Japan's claims for indemnity. A further note states that in case it shall be shown that Japanese are responsible for similar claims by Russians, Japan shall also express regrets. Finally, in Protocol A each country declares that it is not a party to any secret agreement directed against the other.

(7) Then there comes Protocol B, which deals with actual and prospective concessions as to oil and coal in Northern Sakhalin. Here Japan scores heavily and is thereby involved, as regards oil, in the disputes regarding an oil concession which was made first by the Far Eastern Republic, but later was confirmed by Soviet Russia, to the Sinclair Exploration Company to exploit oil resources in that island. The facts are that on May 14, 1921, a preliminary agreement was signed between the Government of the Far Eastern Republic

and the Sinclair Exploration Company. This was followed by a concession made on Jan. 7, 1922, and a supplementary agreement of the same date. On Jan. 23, 1923, the Soviet Government at Moscow ratified these engagements. During this entire time Japan was in military occupation of Northern Sakhalin. When, therefore, the Sinclair interests sent an exploring expedition to the island, the American engineers were arrested and deported. The Soviet court at Moscow on March 24 canceled the Sinclair concession; Judge Volfson, in finding the verdict, held that the Sinclair interests had failed to fulfill their obligations under the terms of the concession. The court also ordered that the \$100,000 which was deposited with the Soviet Government as a guarantee, be returned to the oil company. Since then exploration and development of some of the oil resources of Northern Sakhalin have been carried on by Japanese interests. Cargoes of oil have been shipped to Japan and the real economic value of these deposits of petroleum has been thereby shown.

Protocol B provides for the granting to Japanese firms, recommended by the Japanese Government, of a concession to exploit 50 per cent. of the oil fields of Northern Sakhalin. These fields are listed in an annexed document. In case the Soviet Government should decide to offer other oil fields to foreigners, "Japanese concerns shall be afforded equal opportunity in the matter of such concession." Furthermore, the Japanese are to be permitted to explore for oil on the Eastern Coast of Northern Sakhalin, and if oil is discovered they are to receive 50 per cent. of such oil fields. Coal rights are also granted to the Japanese on the western side of the island, as well as in the Doue district, and provision is made that if any other coal fields should be offered to foreigners Japanese shall likewise be "afforded equal opportunities." For such concessions the Japanese are to pay in the case of coal fields a royalty of from 5 to 8 per cent. of their gross output, and in

the case of oil fields from 5 to 15 per cent. of their gross output. In the case of a gusher well the royalty may be raised to 45 per cent. The various materials and products needed for the development of these fields are to be en-

tered free of duty, and the Japanese interests are not to be taxed in such a way as to prevent their remunerative working. Thus Japan has received a very handsome opportunity to develop such concessions.

China's Oliver Cromwell —General Feng

By YASUZO SHIMIDZU

AMONG those who speak of China today, two different classes may be distinguished. One is composed of those who despair of China's future; the other is made up of those who believe in China's future. Fundamentally speaking, however, these two classes represent two aspects of one and the same principle. There are no strong men in China able to overcome the prevailing apathy, says the former; while the latter declares that there are enough leaders to awaken the Chinese people to a new national consciousness and to create the China of the future.

Upon being asked by an eager student of New China as to her future, Bertrand Russell replied: "If China could marshal ten thousand good men, she might be able to rejuvenate her national life." "Ten thousand good men could save China from her present national stupidity," retorted the inquirer. Whereupon this wise teacher answered: "If there were one thousand good men China might be saved from the present chaos." "One thousand good men may save China from ruin," repeated the young student after his teacher. There was a moment of pause. "Well," continued the savant, "if there were one hundred good men, yes, even ten good men, China might be saved from continued decadence." Since that incident there has been a movement among the

young Chinese students known as Iwan-Hao-Jen Tang to produce ten thousand good men to bring about a renaissance in China.

I venture to go even further than Mr. Russell and to say that five strong men will save China from possible decadence and bring forth a brighter day for China. One of these men is General Feng.

FENG'S REFORMS IN HONAN

Until two years ago General Feng was the Governor of Honan and Shenghsi Provinces in Central China. When he was ordered by General Wu Pei Fu to take up the position of Governor in Honan, General Feng, with a detachment of his own soldiers, advanced upon Honan. At that time the Governor of Honan was Chao Ti, an egotistic, self-centred individual. By sheer effort and dauntless courage General Feng overthrew Chao Ti and took possession of Honan. This was the first of his public acts, and it was the customary way of filling an official appointment in China. Feng then took

Mr. Shimidzu, a native of Japan, lived ten years in China. He is the principal of a school for Chinese youth in Peking and was formerly publisher of the Peking Weekly. He is the author of two books on China. He is stated on high authority to be "the only Japanese who understands China and her people." Mr. Shimidzu is at present a graduate student in theology at Oberlin University.

steps to institute various reforms in the newly acquired province. Before many



International

FENG YU-HSIANG

The Chinese Christian General, whose army is trained to refrain from the vices usually prevalent among troops

weeks had elapsed General Feng ordered all the Pan-tzu, or public women, to leave the province, abolished the sale of all intoxicating liquors and took necessary steps to enforce public order. Soon thereafter the red lights no longer allured the feet of the idle in cities and towns; no loud laughter could be heard in villages; silence and soberness reigned supreme.

It is almost proverbial in the countries of Asia that liquor and women ought to be deemed as enemies, and as the result of this age-long belief the policy of General Feng was looked upon as the most beneficent that the Province of Honan had ever experienced. Neither liquor nor women are allowed on the outskirts of General Feng's army camps. Only mineral water is served at the banquets and receptions given by Feng.

General Feng sometimes carried his theory of drastic measures for the public good to an extreme. One day he was walking through the main street of Kaifeng, the capital of Honan Province, dressed in the uniform of an ordinary soldier. Of a sudden he encountered a peddler selling mantou (Chinese bread). He stopped and asked the peddler the price. The peddler curtly replied that it cost 3 cents. Whereupon the Governor said to the peddler that the price was exorbitant; that the bread ought not to cost over a cent. The peddler replied that since the war everything had risen in price, hence he had to make a good profit while there was a chance. The Governor grew increasingly indignant at the peddler and declared that there was no justification for profiteering. The peddler, not knowing who the stranger was, grew impudent. "It would be foolish," he said, "not to ask a good price for mantou when the people are willing to pay the price." Instantly a strange sound followed the insolent remarks, and behold! there lay the mantou man headless. "Thus shall be done to every one who shall profit himself at the expense of the public" was painted on a signboard which was erected on the spot where the peddler fell, and it remained there for some days.

This summary punishment may sound cruel and feudalistic to Occidental readers. It should, however, be pointed out that there is another side to the character of General Feng, as the following story evidences. One Summer evening, after the day's work, General Feng was riding in a 'riksha in order to obtain relief from the heat of the day. After having enjoyed the coolness of the Summer breeze he asked the 'riksha man if his business was profitable. "My soldier friend, only 30 cents a day," replied the 'riksha man. "Only 30 cents a day is a very small income," commented Feng. "What is the reason for it?"

"Since General Feng came to our province," the man explained, "the number of our customers has decreased. The reason is that the former Governor used an automobile, while his subordinates patronized 'rikshas. But now General Feng, being a man of simple life and frugal habits, uses 'rikshas, hence the rest are obliged to walk."

"Then you must consider General Feng to be a bad fellow, don't you?" asked the Governor. Whereupon the 'riksha-man stopped the 'riksha and with a trace of resentment replied: "No, General Feng is not a bad man, sir; he is a most gracious Governor. Although we have no more gayly attired public women in our city, there are also no more beggars; and though there is no more noisy music, no rattling banjos to be heard anywhere, the number of reading rooms and libraries and recreation rooms is increased many fold. Instead of the men and boys going aimlessly about the city as they used to, we now find them enjoying the privileges of home and fireside." "But if you cannot make enough profits," retorted the Governor, "he must be a bad fellow." "Do you think," said the 'riksha man as he resumed his duty, "that General Feng is bound to ride in automobiles? That is not our concern. He may do as he pleases. If the gates of the city were kept open until midnight we would have no complaint, for after 10 o'clock everybody would ride in 'rik-

shas." At this point he was halted by General Feng, who started to get out. "What!" said the 'riksha man, "Is this your residence? Surely not, for this is the Governor's mansion. You must be joking, sir."

"No, this is my place and I am Feng."

A CHINESE OLIVER CROMWELL

In silent amazement the 'riksha man pulled the vehicle to the entrance. As Feng got out of the 'riksha he handed the man a silver dollar. When the latter saw the sentry salute his customer at the gate he then believed for the first time that his "fare" was General Feng. He was most grateful and to pay him homage he picked up the cushion upon which the Governor had been sitting and kissed it. On the morrow there appeared an order from the Governor permitting the gates of the city to be kept open until midnight.

A leader so Oriental in his methods would scarcely seem to belong to the Christian West. And yet General Feng belongs to what is known as the American or Christian party. His soldiers, therefore, instead of war songs, chant Christian hymns. On Sundays, instead of church bells, trumpets call the soldiers to the house of worship. Instead of five or ten new converts, several hundred, even a thousand converts are baptized at one time. The Reverend Liu Fang, a noted native pastor, baptized many hundred converts on one day and when he was through with the baptizing his fingers grew numb and wrinkled. As a remedy, some one suggested that in the future he might use a bundle of bamboo leaves to sprinkle upon the candidates.

Around the army camps of General Feng stands a row of factories furnishing the soldiers with daily work. They are required to work there each afternoon, while every forenoon is devoted to their military training. In the factories they are taught to make house furnishings, clothes, shoes, socks and various other needed articles. They are fully compensated for what they produce and this supplements their meager pay as soldiers. In addition to these factories

there are foundries and carpenter shops. General Feng himself works with the soldiers each afternoon. This is noteworthy in view of the fact that the majority of Chinese officials of high rank are usually addicted to the opium or drink habit, with the usual results. Unlike these officials, burned out and withered by excesses, General Feng is a picture of health and his muscular hands tell the story of constant manual labor.

On Saturdays the Post Office is crowded to the doors. For this there is a special reason. The soldiers go to the Post Office with their savings of the week and send it to their parents. On Sundays they attend the church to worship God and at the same time give material offerings to their heavenly Father.

Judging from what has been said, the readers may infer that General Feng is not a Christian of the type of Leo Tolstoi, the Russian sage. The fact that he is not afraid to destroy the guilty at the point of the sword, creates a line of demarcation between him and Tolstoi. His policy of dictatorship also marks a wide divergence between him and George Washington, father of the American Republic. I, for one, deem him to be a Chinese Oliver Cromwell who has followed in the footsteps of his prototype. To confirm my belief, I asked him one day which of the Western leaders he most admired. The answer was, "Oliver Cromwell."

He became dictator last Autumn, taking the place of his former friend and associate, Wu Pei Fu, and it was done so suddenly that many critics failed to understand the meaning of this unexpected change. Some called him a traitor, an ungrateful betrayer of his best friend. But I, personally, am not willing to accept the judgment of those superficial observers. During all these years he had shared with Wu Pei Fu sorrows and joys, anxieties and victories. He fought unreservedly against An Fu-pai and Chang Tso-lin to protect the rear of Wu Pei Fu's army. This he did as an act of friendship, and the fruits of victory he gave to Wu Pei Fu.

Many may share your sorrows, but only a few will participate in your joy over success. With General Feng, no matter what the emotion was, he was ready to share it with his friend. In spite of this intimate friendship Feng forsook Wu Pei Fu suddenly, and as a result the latter suffered an overwhelming defeat at the hands of Chang Tso-lin. What justification did Feng have in overthrowing his best friend? The answer is simple. The policy of Wu Pei Fu was to bring about national unity by force, whereas the policy of Feng was unity through disarmament. The question was a question of principle, and it was for the sake of his ideal that General Feng gave up even his best friend.

The very fact that he is a Chinese Cromwell implies a shortcoming. Feng dethroned Wu Pei Fu, China's dictator, and made himself the dictator. He recently drove the young Emperor and his household out of the palace under cover of night. There is something childish about Feng and his policy. Perhaps he is following the example of his prototype, but I am of the opinion that in this age of enlightened democracy Cromwell is behind the time. According to the teaching of Christ, it is true, we must become childlike in order to enter the Kingdom of God; but this does not mean that we should be childish. The policy of expulsion which General Feng exercised while he was Governor of Honan might have been a policy of reformation instead. Education is better and more humane than expulsion. Driving a harmless, innocent young Emperor out of his palace in the night is an act of childishness. "When I became a man," said the great Apostle, "I put away childish things."

I have expressed my views frankly in the foregoing pages, because I sincerely admire and love General Feng. It is my love that thus speaks. And if he could transcend that childishness, emancipating himself from Cromwell's grip, he would be to China what George Washington was to America during the stormy days of the American Republic.

Balkan Unrest a Menace to World Peace

By FREDERICK HORNER

Traveler and Student of Political Affairs in Southeastern Europe

SIX years of almost continuous warfare, from 1912 till 1918, did not apparently exhaust the fighting temper of the Balkan peoples. Reports of violence pour in upon us day after day from that region. Its troubles seem indeed to have multiplied since the war; for, besides quarreling endlessly among themselves, the Balkan countries are now rent by fierce internal feuds. It was inevitable that we should be told that it was all the work of the Bolsheviks and of their Communist henchmen. But, as I have already shown, communism does not and could not exist in Southeastern Europe; that region, on the contrary, is restless because it is now ruled by reactionary Governments which choke all normal political life. Their ire is directed especially against the peasants. Since the war the peasants of those countries have acquired economic and political power and now they are pressing hard for genuine popular government. In other words, having at last made secure their national independence, the Balkan peoples are now turning to the task of endowing themselves with liberal political institutions. Far from wanting a dictatorship, they are in fact struggling against one and for the right of the peoples to govern themselves. Nothing short of that can bring peace to the Balkans; violence will cease "that day in Sofia, Belgrade and Bucharest when the power passes to people willing to govern and not to tyrannize."

If another clue to the real state of things in Southeastern Europe were needed, it could easily be found in comparing the foreign policies of the present supposedly lamb-like but badly scared Governments with that of their opponents. To quote the decidedly pacific programs of the big Croatian or Ru-

manian Peasant Parties may not be sufficiently convincing. There has not yet been an opportunity for testing these parties on their own good principles. But we have at least one clear proof in the activity of the Stambulisky Government, which did not escape the accusation of "Bolshevism." Whatever else may be said against it, no one could deny that it sincerely and consistently worked for peaceful relations with its neighbors. That, as his end proved, required great courage at home, besides many a heavy sacrifice for the sake of peace.

In Southern Dobrudja the Rumanians had taken a piece of pure Bulgarian land in 1913. The Serbs not only pocketed the whole of Macedonia, but with foolish greed they also took a "strategic" frontier, in 1919, in the form of a slice of Bulgaria with the town of Tsaribrod. On that occasion Stambulisky gave a fine proof of his statesmanship. He said, "Why do you take only Tsaribrod? Take all of us." What he meant was, as his later activities showed, that his ideal was a comprehensive southern Slav federation, in which he was ready to enter, and not the grabbing of a few square miles of foreign land. Nor did Stambulisky try to get by violence what after all was his due. The pro-Greek attitude, which for a while inebriated the allied Councils, made them take away Dedeagatch, Bulgaria's only outlet to the open sea. It is true that at the same time they formally promised her some sort of satisfactory arrangement for free transit through that port; but that promise was never fulfilled. Yet Stambulisky kept his temper and his peace and waited patiently, notwithstanding the many tempting examples of successful international brigandage, like the Polish raid on Vilna and the

Italian raid on Fiume. After their collapse in Asia Minor the Greeks were so helpless that to occupy Dedeagatch would have been for the Bulgarians a simple military excursion.

Stambulisky's last and supreme act of peace was the signing of the Treaty of Nish. Whatever may be the rights and wrongs of the Macedonian problem, it is certain that Bulgaria would be entitled to a good slice of Macedonia; and it is equally certain that after taking the whole of it Pashitch has installed there a régime of extreme intolerance. On these terms reconciliation

seemed impossible. Macedonia had become a fetich with the Bulgarian people; this is easily understood when one visits Sofia. There, when asking politicians or officials or academicians or journalists from whence they hail, three times out of four one gets the reply, "From Macedonia." Stambulisky, therefore, proved his mettle when, by the Treaty of Nish, he agreed to cooperate with Yugoslavia in putting down the bands of komitadjis, for implicitly that also meant the final renunciation of all claim to a share of Macedonia. Not to insist on cutting into pieces that prov-



A map of the Balkan States

ince of inextricably mixed populations was the first step toward solving the Macedonian problem. It is now known that the Treaty of Nish went further and opened the only possible door out of the Macedonian impasse, by contemplating some sort of political link between the Bulgarians and the other South Slav populations.

STAMBULISKY'S WISDOM

It was for that act of political wisdom—how solitary in after-war Europe!—more than for anything else, that Stambulisky was murdered. What has followed since? At Sofia the Yugoslav and Rumanian Ministers have periodically delivered a string of sharp notes against the activity of komitadjis on the Macedonian and Dobrudjan frontiers. On two occasions Pashitch was only restrained from delivering ultimatums and taking action against Bulgaria by the negative attitude of his colleagues in the Little Entente and the uncertain situation at home. What hope is there now of an understanding about Macedonia? Does one need a more telling answer than that deluge of alarms about impending risings and diplomatic intrigues and Bolshevik intervention in, or regarding, Macedonia? As people say over there, "No smoke without a fire." But that is not because the Macedonians have suddenly become converts to Bolshevism or the Soviets suddenly devoted to the Macedonian cause. The change can be clearly traced to the day when in Sofia a popular Government was replaced by a reactionary Government, as greedy of more territory and man power as the like-minded Government in Belgrade.

When two such Governments gather together it augurs ill for their neighbors. During a recent visit to Sofia I had two surprises. I found that no one spoke any longer of the Dedeagatch grievance, which, two years ago, was a topic unsparingly vented upon any visitor. And further, I found that many influential people were actively working for a Bulgarian-Yugoslav alliance. The Bulgarian Minister of War and the Yugoslav Min-

ister to Sofia were openly sponsoring the idea. This coming together of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia is no longer intended to solve mutual problems, above all that of Macedonia. Those who are eager for the alliance are also intractable advocates of the extreme Bulgarian view regarding Macedonia. The alliance is to be closely defined, like that of 1912, and is to serve a similar purpose. By means of joint and simultaneous action Bulgaria is to occupy Kavala, while Yugoslavia will install herself at Saloniki.

The plan is simple and fits in with all the circumstances of Balkan politics. But for the second Balkan war, when through her own mistakes she found herself isolated, Bulgaria would have had Kavala in 1913. She only accepted Dedeagatch as a makeshift. Now Greece is isolated and weak, and the present Bulgarian rulers see in that an opportunity for making good their former mischance. They now explain with elaborate technical arguments that Dedeagatch will not do as a port; and that the construction of a new port at some near but more convenient site is impossible for financial reasons. All their plans and desires now centre on Kavala. A well-known Bulgarian politician, a former Prime Minister and a probable Prime Minister of tomorrow, and a Macedonian, too, frankly declares in private that if he were in office he would regard it as his immediate and chief task to put through this plan for the conquest of Kavala. The plan offers little difficulty and no risk from a military point of view. Its success would, on the other hand, revive some popularity for the Bulgarian militarists and nationalists, who have thrown their country into many wars, but hitherto could never win one for her.

The scheme also has active friends in Belgrade. One of them, a former Minister to Sofia and now a versatile member of Parliament, even made so bold as to prophesy that "it will happen within a year." One of the ablest chiefs at the Foreign Office includes among troubles in the future the "possibility" that Bulgaria may make an at-

tempt on Kavala. A less well-trained man would probably have added that in such a case Yugoslavia would have to make sure of her outlet at Saloniki. It may be pertinent to note that the Belgrade Government recently canceled its treaty of alliance with Greece and that a little earlier it had sent to Athens a note protesting against the alleged ill-treatment of Serbs in Greek Macedonia (i. e., the region between the Serbian border and Saloniki). That the Serbs mean to get Saloniki may be taken to be an unimpeachable assertion. They have now on lease a part of its harbor as a free port, and that arrangement might serve as a model for the use of all ports with a foreign hinterland. But the agreement was signed only with delay and difficulty. The Nationalist press of Belgrade carried on a violent campaign against it, while the Serb Chambers of Commerce openly demanded in a memorandum that the Government should claim territorial possession of the port and a "corridor" from the frontier to Saloniki. The Serbs make no secret of the fact that the arrangement leaves them unsatisfied. The semi-official Economic and Financial Review devoted the first article of its January issue to this question, explaining that "the extensive basin of the Vardar, together with Southern Serbia as far as Nish, gravitate toward Saloniki, and it would be possible also to direct that way a large part of the traffic to and from Belgrade, if we enjoyed in this foreign port the facilities which we should have if it belonged to us." Something to hope for, evidently. For the time being the journal only ventures a broad and most suggestive hint concerning the "corridor." The difficulty, it says, "would be to a large extent removed if Greece, with a true understanding of her own interests, ceded us the small section of line between our frontier and Saloniki."

Formerly, because of the situation of their territories and of their conflicts with Austria-Hungary, the Serbs were bent upon getting a port on the Adriatic. But they first had to give up their hope

of Trieste and then their right to Fiume. Now Saloniki is the goal, for a good many reasons. It is a better port than Fiume. An Adriatic port will never be quite Serbian as long as the Adriatic is an "Italian sea." Saloniki is the natural outlet of the Morava and Vardar Valleys—that is, of Southern Serbia and of the new rich lands of Macedonia, which are being strongly colonized. A further reason is telling increasingly, as the conflict between Belgrade and the new provinces grows more acute. If Yugoslavia's main outlet is on the Aegean, Croatia and Slovenia will be economically more dependent on Serbia than they would be with a good port on the Adriatic. The first signs of that policy are already visible at Porto Baros (Sushak). After a prolonged diplomatic conflict and much haggling, Yugoslavia was able to retain that little sister-port to Fiume. It is a small harbor, but having direct railway connection with the Croatian hinterland could render appreciable service. But although it has long since come into Yugoslav hands, warehouses, railways, cranes and all the other harbor appliances have been left completely derelict and the port is growing increasingly useless.

SHADOWY ALLIANCES

The joint attack on Kavala and Saloniki is already a definite plan. If carried out, it may lead to dangerous complications; at any rate, it would put off the chances of a Balkan settlement for another difficult period. Nowhere have military alliances builded so badly for peace as in the Balkans. If the new project were to become fact, the three Balkan peoples—Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia—will have grouped themselves in four different ways among and against one another since 1912. Yet no part of the Balkans could be said thereby to have been pacified or settled; and none ever will be by any such fresh violence as the supposed champions of "law and order" are now concocting. Such shadowy alliances and marauding expeditions never found a hearing at Sofia as long as the Agrarian Party, now abused

as "Bolshevist," was in power. They would certainly be out of the question if and as long as the Croatian Peasant Party would carry weight in the councils of Belgrade.

FEUDS BETWEEN BALKAN STATES

The ill-will which the present Governments entertain toward one another is distressingly patent, notwithstanding "Little Ententes" and "anti-Communist fronts." They cannot say all they think, but sufficient to let us judge them by their words. Take the countries of the Little Entente. When Pashitch lost power, for a short while, last Summer, the Czech semi-official press unblushingly jubilated over his fall. The marriage of King Alexander to a Rumanian Princess has left the relations between Bucharest and Belgrade as cool as they were before. Hardly a day passes without some outburst in the Rumanian press against the way in which Belgrade treats the Rumanian minorities in the Banat. During the latest crisis in Yugoslavia the Rumanian independent press openly and warmly took sides with the Opposition. They are paid back in the same coin by the Serb press. Not long ago a leading article in the influential *Politika* (Belgrade) approvingly commented on a letter which said that "neither under the Turks, nor under the Mongols nor under the Saxons" have the Serbian minorities in Rumania been as ill treated as they are now.

Again, Tsankov's recent attempt to negotiate on behalf of Bulgaria with Belgrade and Bucharest a little Holy Alliance against the supposed Communist danger, produced an unexpected exchange of frank talk. Said the Democrat *Pravda* (Belgrade): "Friendship between M. Tsankov and Yugoslavia is impossible, for he is not a sincere friend of our people, and therefore we do not wish him welcome." The semi-official *Economic and Financial Review* was more diplomatic, but not less pointed, in its comments: "The late M. Stambulisky did much by his far-seeing policy to improve relations and bring the two peoples nearer together. By his

coming into power and by his attitude since then, M. Tsankov has very much weakened that mutual confidence." Yugoslavia, as I have already mentioned, last year denounced her old treaty of alliance with Greece. Last September Greek and Bulgarian delegates signed an agreement assuring fair treatment to the Bulgarian and Greek minorities in the two countries. But the arrangement, violently attacked by the Greek press, was repudiated by the Greek Government.

"The last attempt at tolerance!" How little of it is to be found at present in Balkan politics, under the sign of "law and order." The present Governments show none to their political opponents at home; nor, as their words show, to one another. When two of them do come together, it is always a plot against a third. The intended Bulgaro-Serb action which we have described would be true to type. In the whirl of all this violence and intrigue one remembers with a pang that the old Balkan leaders, those who in the middle of the last century bore the brunt of incipient struggle for independence, always looked upon freedom from the Turks as only the first step toward their goal. The ultimate ideal with them all was a Balkan federation. Has that ideal disappeared without trace? Not yet, fortunately, not altogether. The Bulgarian Peasant Union has during twenty-five years pledged itself to the idea of "Balkan peace through Balkan federation." During its tenure of power under Stambulisky it gave splendid proof that it did not regard that idea merely as a pious wish, but that it was ready to work and suffer for it. Again, the Croat peasant leaders affirm that if they want Yugoslavia to be made a federative State, it is, among other reasons, because that would make so much easier the approach to a Balkan federation. Such a development is not immediately practicable. But it would be a great thing if those peasant leaders could come together and reaffirm in common their faith in a Balkan federation.

American Women Who Are Earning Wages

By BENJAMIN P. CHASS

Writer on Economic and Social Problems

THE latest reports (1920) of the United States Census Bureau show that there are 8,549,511 women 10 years of age and over engaged in gainful occupations. From 1880 to 1920 the total number of working women more than trebled. The table at the foot of this page shows the number of female workers from 1880 to 1920.

The Federal census figures on race and nativity of working women are as follows:

	10 YEARS AND OVER	15 YEARS AND OVER
Native white—Native parentage	3,733,329	3,652,963
Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage	2,110,454	2,088,431
Foreign-born white	1,118,463	1,113,216
Negro	1,571,289	1,476,915
Indian	9,848	9,168
Chinese, Japanese and all other	6,128	6,103

Of the total number of women at work in 1920 1,920,281 were married, the percentage of married women employed having increased from 13.9 per cent. of the total number of women at work in 1890 to 23 per cent. in 1920. In 1880 only 14.7 per cent. of the female population 10 years and over were engaged in gainful occupations, but by 1920 this percentage had increased to 21.1 per cent. During this same period the male workers decreased from 78.7 per cent. in 1880 to 78.2 per cent. in 1920.

Women of the United States were found employed in almost all the professions and occupations listed in the census. Of a total number of 572 occupa-

tions there were only 35 in which no women were employed. The 1920 census of occupations showed that there were 2,864 women employed in the extraction of minerals; 1,930,341 in the manufacturing and mechanical industries and 213,054 in the transportation industry. During the war it was not uncommon to speak of the working woman in overalls, and today there are still thousands of working women wearing this same "masculine" uniform.

Contrary to the common notion that only young women are found at work, the census reports tell us that over half (58.1 per cent.) of all the women at work were over 25 years of age and that there were 1,352,479 from 45 to 64 years of age and 196,900 over 65 years of age who were still at work in some gainful occupation.

Why women work was made clear by the conclusions reached by the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor and also by the United States Industrial Relations Commission of 1915. In its report on women in industry the commission named "two primary causes for the increased employment of women: First, the low wages of men, which have made the earnings of women necessary for the support of the family, and, second, the inducement of employers to substitute women for men because they will accept lower wages and are less likely to pro-

NUMBER OF AMERICAN WOMEN WORKERS, 1880-1920

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	POPULATION 10 YEARS AND OVER	TOTAL NUMBER EMPLOYED	PER CENT. OF TOTAL POPULATION	PER CENT. OF POPULATION 10 YEARS AND OVER
1880	24,636,963	18,025,627	2,647,157	10.7	14.7
1890	30,554,370	23,060,900	4,005,532	13.1	17.4
1900	37,178,127	28,246,384	5,319,397	14.3	18.8
1910	44,639,960	34,552,712	8,075,772	18.1	23.4
1920	51,810,189	40,449,346	8,549,511	16.5	21.1

test against conditions." That women contribute to the support of the family is cited by the many surveys conducted by the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. To state the fact that nearly 2,000,000 married women are at work in some gainful industry, is sufficient to give weight to the statement that women work because of economic necessity.

The conditions under which women have to work are of particular importance, because many are housekeepers and mothers and all are potential mothers. Hence their hours of work demand consideration. The latest reports (1922) show, however, that only nine States—Kansas, Arizona, California, Colorado, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah and Washington—the District of Columbia and the Territory of Porto Rico, have established the legal 8-hour day. Of these States, California has the most inclusive legislation, while in the others the number of industries or occupations included in these laws varies greatly. Two States—North Dakota and Wyoming—have established an 8½-hour day. North Dakota limits the working week to 48 hours, while Wyoming has a 56-hour week. Among the nine States that have established the 8-hour day, California and Utah, as well as the District of Columbia and the Territory of Porto Rico, allow only 48 hours per week. Arizona, Colorado and Washington allow 56 hours; Kansas, 48 hours in one occupation, 54 in another and 56 in a third, and New Mexico allows from 48 to 60 hours per week, varying in different occupations.

Sixteen States—Kansas, Arkansas, Idaho, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Rhode Island, Oklahoma, Oregon, Texas and Wisconsin—limit the working day of women in specified industries or occupations to nine hours. Two of these States, Massachusetts and Oregon, limit the weekly hours to 48. Ohio allows 50 hours; North Dakota, 58 hours; Idaho, 63 hours; Wisconsin, 50 hours, and the remaining ten States permit 54 hours per week. Minnesota has es-

tablished a 9½-hour day and a 54-hour week. Aside from five States—Iowa, Indiana, West Virginia, Alabama and Florida—which have established no legal daily or weekly hour limit, and five States—New Hampshire (10¼), Vermont (10½), Tennessee (10½), North Carolina (11) and South Carolina (12)—the rest of the States, which make up the greatest group, have established the 10-hour day. As already stated, the hours vary greatly in different occupations, and in frequent instances many establishments really operate under a shorter working day than the law limits.

Though 43 States have limited the hours of labor, only 22 States have provided for a day of rest or one shorter work day, or time for meals or rest periods; and even in these 22 States the laws vary according to occupations. Only 16 States have established any night-work laws, and the laws in these States do not cover all occupations but merely a few. The laws of three of these States—Indiana, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania—cover only manufacturing, and in South Carolina the law covers only mercantile establishments. In Ohio and Washington only a very small group is covered, viz., ticket sellers. In the remaining States two or more industries or occupations are included in the night laws. The longest period of time during which night work is prohibited is from 6 P. M. to 6 A. M. in textile manufacturing in Massachusetts. In all, the legislation of the States, as it concerns night work for women, has been very much neglected, and many organizations are at present advocating the absolute prohibition of night work for women workers.

Home work, especially among women, still prevails to a great extent, as only about one-fourth of the States have laws either prohibiting or regulating home work. The sweatshop is an old institution in the United States, and all students of labor are of the opinion that the sweatshop makes for insanitary conditions and, in fact, is a source of disease. The most progressive step yet

taken to abolish the sweatshop in American industry is the "sanitary label" idea, established by the joint cooperation of the employers in the ladies' garment industry and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. A "sanitary label" is found on every garment manufactured under sanitary conditions and thus serves as a warning to those who desire not to buy clothing made in sweatshops.

The working women of America form only a small part of the labor unions. Although figures are difficult to gather regarding the total number of women in trade unions, it is estimated that only about 5 per cent. of the women at work are organized into unions. The following table (taken from Alice Henry's "Women in Modern Trade Unions") lists the number of women in some of the trade unions in the United States:

International Brotherhood of Bookbinders	6,000
Boot and Shoe Workers Union.....	20,000
United Capmakers of North America....	2,000
Railway and Steamship Clerks' Union....	16,500
Clearmakers' International Union.....	61,000
International Fur Workers' Union.....	2,500
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union	50,000
Laundry Workers' International Union..	4,000
Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union..	57,400
Order of Railroad Telegraphers.....	3,000
International Typographical Union.....	2,000
Upholsterers' International Union.....	2,000
National Federation of Post Office Clerks	4,000

That the trade unions have made immense progress not only in wages, but in working conditions, is a well-known fact. Miss Rose Schneiderman, in an article published in the Consumers' League of New York bulletin, says of the progress made by organized labor:

In 1909 the most expensive gowns were made in cellars and tenements, but today the sweat-shop is the exception and not the rule. In the garment trades the forty-hour week has been secured, with double pay for all overtime work, and work has been rearranged so as to offer thirty weeks' employment during the year instead of three months, while wages now average between \$30 and \$50 a week.

Before the laundry workers were organized, all sorts of hours and conditions prevailed, but today those who are in trade unions have an 8-hour day and a minimum wage of \$15 per

week, while the still unorganized workers toil nine and ten hours for wages as low as \$9 and \$10 per week. Before the United Capmakers' Union came into existence wages had been as low as \$8 per week, while today they range from \$25 to \$50 a week. These are but a few of the examples of the advantages gained by organized labor.

Many attempts have been made to calculate what women should receive from industry and what should be a wage that would enable them to live a "decent life." At present thirteen States have established a minimum wage law for women. The District of Columbia also had a minimum wage law, but the Supreme Court declared this law unconstitutional. At present the Supreme Court of California is occupied in considering the constitutionality of the minimum wage law in that State. The highest wage set in any of these awards is \$20 per week for office workers in North Dakota. In the State of Washington \$18 per week was awarded for public house-keeping, but it was subsequently reduced to \$14.50 per week. The lowest award is \$6 per week for various occupations for minors and inexperienced workers in the State of Kansas. The other minimum wage laws fix the wages at from about \$7.50 to \$10 for minors and inexperienced workers and from \$9 to \$14.50 for experienced female workers; but a few occupations have to pay as high as \$15 and \$16. Where there is a minimum wage law in force wages are generally higher, and in many cases much higher, than are the wages in States which do not have any such law.

Women's labor-power being more exploited than man's, consequently this severe exploitation results in low wages. In 1919 the United States Department of Labor conducted one of the most comprehensive surveys pertaining to the wages of women in industry. This survey* covered twenty-one industries and 85,812 women, spread over thirty-two

*"Industrial Survey in Selected Industries," by the United States Department of Labor, page 38, Bulletin 265.

States. The table below gives the average weekly wage:

INDUSTRY	WAGES	INDUSTRY	WAGES
Automobiles	\$17.78	Hosiery and un-	
Boxes, paper	10.89	derwear	\$13.04
Chemicals	12.24	Iron and steel	15.33
Cigars	14.87	Leather	13.12
Clothing, men's	14.80	Machine tools	15.94
Cloth'g, women's	16.34	Overalls	12.26
Confectionery	10.26	Paper and pulp	13.34
Electrical ma-		Pottery	13.22
chinery	14.68	Rubber	14.87
Foundries	14.19	Silk	15.68
Furniture	10.40	Typewriters	14.04
Glass	10.12		

The average number of hours worked per day was 7.5 and the average wage for all was \$13.54 per week.

During the last three or four years the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor has made surveys of women labor in several States. Below is given the weekly median wages per week for the various States:

STATE	YEAR OF SURVEY	WEEKLY MEDIAN WAGES
New Jersey	1922	\$14.95
Rhode Island	1920	16.85
Kentucky	1921	9.55
Alabama	1922	7.58
Missouri	1922	10.23
South Carolina	1920-21	11.79
Arkansas	1922	10.73
Georgia	1920-21	9.20

Since these figures are for median wages, it is apparent that half of the workers whose wages were reported in the above studies received below the given sum and the other half received above these wages. The negro workers investigated in this list of studies received very much below that of the white wage earners. In the cigar manufacturing industry of Georgia the negro women reported a median wage of \$6.20 per week; in garment manufacture a weekly median wage of \$3.90. The highest wages were for the women employed in the manufacture of felt hats in New Jersey, their weekly median wage being \$23.

The report for thirty-three industries in the State of Illinois showed that the average weekly wages for women during the month of May, 1924, was \$17.15. The average weekly wages for all occupations in the slaughtering and meat packing industry was \$16.28 per week during the year 1923, while in 1921 the average wage was \$22.04. The average full-time weekly earnings of female employees (1922) in the selected occupa-

tions in the manufacture of woolen and worsted goods varied from \$13.23 for doffers to \$33.70 for wool sorters. In 1922 the average full-time earnings of female employees in the selected occupations of the men's clothing industry ranged from \$18.61 for hand sewers to \$27.03 for fitters and trimmers. In the same year the State Labor Department of Massachusetts reported that the average weekly wage for women was as follows: Of the 206,088 women wage earners 2 per cent. received less than \$10 a week, 29 per cent. whose wages fell between \$10 and \$15, 40 per cent. whose wages were between \$15 and \$20, 20 per cent. between \$20 and \$25 and 9 per cent. whose wages were over \$25 per week.

In the cotton industry throughout the country the statistics showed that in 1922 the female employees received a wage ranging from about \$12 to \$19 per week. In the report of the women wage earners employed in the five and ten cent stores of New York State (1921) it is shown that of the total group of full-time women workers exactly one-half received less than \$13.49 per week, and that just over 55 per cent. were receiving less than \$14 a week and two-thirds less than \$15 and 99.09 per cent. less than \$30. The average weekly earnings for women (1923) in five industries of New York State—confectionery, paper box, shirts and collars, tobacco and mercantile—were \$15.25 in the four factory industries and \$16.25 in the mercantile industry. In the State of Pennsylvania the average daily wages for female employees was \$3.27 in 1920 and \$3.10 in 1921. This report covers a total number of 1,130,831 employees, both male and female. The wages of agricultural workers are not listed separately for women, but the wages, since they almost always include board, are miserably low. In 1920 the average monthly wage of the farm laborer was \$46.89 with board and \$64.95 without board. In 1921 the average monthly wage of the agricultural hand was \$30.14 with board and \$43.39 without board, and since then these wages have fallen

Russia's Share of Blame for the World War

Two Aspects

I. The Russian Order for General Mobilization

By JOHN S. EWART

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HISTORIANS are engaged in intensive study of the immediate and indirect causes of the World War. Published histories of the great cataclysm are being revised in the light of new documentary evidence revealed since the peace of Versailles, and new studies are being published based upon this evidence, in which the writers seek to apportion the blame for precipitating the greatest conflict of the ages, between the main belligerents, notably France, Great Britain, Germany, Austria and Russia.

In respect to Russia, particularly, there are many complex factors which must be taken into consideration in any serious attempt to apportion responsibility—factors which writers on the general subject of responsibility have been compelled to subordinate or to omit entirely, in order to avoid undue extension of their discussions. There is no doubt that the whole question of Russian mobilization needs minute and special treatment at a length to which the general historian cannot indulge in. I have found a book of some 1,200 pages now in process of publication inadequate for the purpose. And yet there are certain facts—high lights on the world drama that began in 1914, from the Russian angle, specifically—which can and should be brought out in a special article dealing exclusively with the circumstances surrounding Russian mobilization.

What are the salient facts and how

are they interpreted? On July 29, at 1 A. M., the Czar telegraphed to the Kaiser as follows:

I am glad that you are back in Germany. In this serious moment I ask you earnestly to help me. An ignominious war has been declared against a weak country, and in Russia the indignation which I fully share is tremendous. I fear that very soon I shall be unable to resist the pressure being put upon me, and that I shall be forced to take measures which will lead to war. To prevent such a calamity as a European war would be, I urge you in the name of our old friendship to do all in your power to restrain your ally [Austria] from going too far.¹

Having dispatched this appeal, the Czar retired, and before he again retired "the measures which will lead to war," namely, Russian mobilization against Germany, were instituted. Whether the Czar was or was not responsible for that action is doubtful, but of the fact there is no doubt. One story of the Russian mobilization may be gleaned from the following:

According to Sir George Buchanan (the British Ambassador before the war at St. Petersburg), on the day of the Czar's telegram.

orders for partial mobilization were signed, to be directed solely against Austria, as the Emperor had refused to yield to strong pressure brought to bear upon him by his military advisers, who, on technical grounds, and in view of secret preparations made by Germany, had insisted upon its being made a general one. [That is, as against Germany as well as Austria-Hungary.] The military

¹German White Book, 1914, Exhibit 21.

authorities, however, without his Majesty's knowledge, did make secret preparations for a general mobilization, though, on being questioned by the Emperor on the subject, General Sukhomlinov denied it.²

Other documents make it clear that the Czar did, on that day, July 29, sign and hand to Yanushkevitch (Russian Chief of Staff) a mobilization ukase, but whether it ordered merely partial mobilization or general mobilization is uncertain. During the trial (September, 1917) of General Sukhomlinov (Russian Minister for War), following the March revolution in Russia,³ General Yanushkevitch testified as follows:

When it became clear that war was inevitable, I insisted before the Emperor on the need of proclaiming a general mobilization * * * because it was clear that Germany stood at the back of Austria and that war with Germany was inevitable. The Emperor maintained that general mobilization would threaten war not only against Austria, but against Germany. But considering this war unavoidable, I insisted on the proclamation of general mobilization, and on July 29 I drove to the Council of Ministers, where the proclamation was signed by the three Ministers whose signatures were by our laws necessary for a declaration of mobilization.⁴

This statement gives the impression of the existence of a ukase for general mobilization—an impression not consistent with other parts of Yanushkevitch's evidence. On the same day (July 29) at 3 P. M., the German Military Attaché—Major von Eggeling—telegraphed to Berlin in part as follows:

The Chief of the General Staff has asked me to call on him, and has told me that he has just come from his Majesty. He has been requested by the Secretary of War to reiterate once more that everything had remained as the Secretary had informed me two days ago.⁵

Referring to this interview, Yanushkevitch, in his evidence, said:

²Oman: *The Outbreak of the War of 1914-18*, p. 63.

³The General was charged with conspiring to assist the enemy and with acts of corruption. He was acquitted of the first charge, but on the second was sentenced to a term of imprisonment.

⁴The Cambridge Magazine (Oct. 6, 1917), quoting from the Petrograd newspaper the *Retch*, Aug. 26, 1917.

⁵The German White Book, 1914: in *British Collected Diplomatic Documents*, Cd. 7860, p. 410.

I pointed out that Russia was not following any aggressive aims toward Germany. The Major answered that unfortunately mobilization in Russia had already begun. I gave him the assurance that it had not yet begun. On that the Military Attaché declared with extraordinary decision that on this matter he had better information. I gave him the word of honor of the Chief of the General Staff that at that moment, precisely at 3 o'clock on July 29, mobilization had not yet been proclaimed. I remember this important moment in all its details. The Major did not believe it. I offered to give it to him in writing, which he courteously refused. I considered myself justified in giving such a declaration in writing because, as a matter of fact, mobilization had at this moment not been proclaimed; I still had in my pocket the ukase about mobilization.⁶

The implication from this second statement is as from the first, namely, that the ukase was for general mobilization. In the evening of the same day (as Sir Charles Oman in his semi-official pamphlet relates) Sazonov, the Russian Foreign Minister, believing that war was inevitable,

* * * consulted the Minister for War and the Chief of Staff and found that they had already not only come to the same conclusion, but had acted on it. They had, though defeated at the Ministerial council that had met a few hours before, drawn up a proclamation for general mobilization signed by three Ministers [no doubt Sukhomlinov and two others]. But such a document was of no value without the Czar's signature, which had been withheld. Nevertheless they had begun to dispatch secret orders for general mobilization to the higher military authorities. * * * Application was made to the Czar, who approved the alternative—unwelcome as it was to him.⁷

The discrepancy, so far, is as to the time of the Czar's assent. Whether it was in the afternoon (as indicated by Yanushkevitch) or in the evening (as asserted by Oman) of July 29, there is no doubt that orders for general mobilization were being dispatched on that day. Still later in the evening (according to Oman) the Czar, because of a telegram from the Kaiser, repented of

⁶Oman, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 68.

his assent to mobilization against Germany.⁸ At the trial above referred to, Sukhomlinov testified as follows:

In the night before July 30 the ex-Czar called me upon the telephone and told me that it was necessary to break off the mobilization in the three military districts,⁹ but mobilization was then already going on splendidly, and the order to break it off was identical with the complete cancellation of mobilization, as, on account of technical impossibilities, it could not be broken off but only completely canceled, as so much time is taken up with the preliminary preparation and dispatch of new maps, and so forth.¹⁰

Sukhomlinov remonstrated with the Czar:

The Czar, however, maintained his opinion, and I made the following proposal to him: "If your Majesty does not believe that it is technically impossible to interrupt the mobilization, will your Majesty apply to the Chief of the General Staff?"¹¹

Adopting that suggestion, the Czar telephoned Yanushkevitch, and, after some conversation, directed him to cease mobilization against Germany. At the trial Yanushkevitch testified:

I then implored the monarch not to cancel the order for a general mobilization. I pointed out to him that such a cancellation would spoil the mobilization plan and would render a new rapid mobilization impossible. But Wilhelm's word of honor gained the upper hand, and I was ordered to proclaim a partial mobilization. I immediately reported this to Sazonov, Minister for Foreign Affairs.¹²

Thereupon the two Generals held a conversation over the telephone. Sukhomlinov, in his evidence, told its purport:

Half an hour later General Yanushkevitch rang me up. He told me that the Czar had ordered him to stop the mobilization. "What did you reply?" I asked. "I replied," said he, "that it was technically impossible, but he nevertheless ordered me to stop. What shall I do?" "Do nothing," said I. Thus it was I who ordered that the mobilization should con-

tinue in spite of the Czar's will, and General Yanushkevitch endlessly thanked me for it.¹³

Commenting upon this, Oman says:

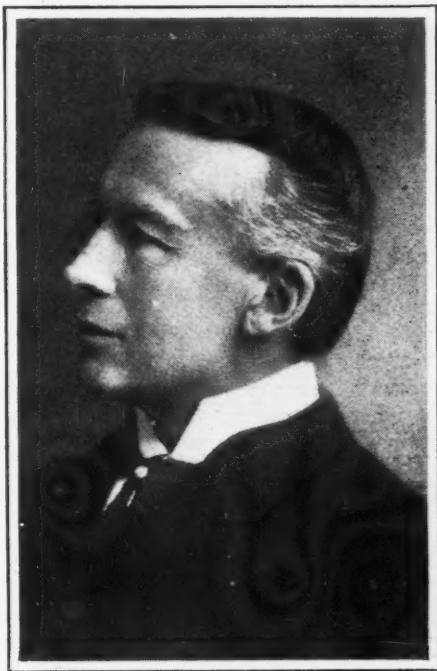
Thus Sukhomlinov made himself a party to a second act of disobedience. The first had been the previous issuing of an order for general instead of partial mobilization; the second was the ignoring of the Czar's clear command to suspend the general mobilization at midnight. * * * The two Generals allowed their military preparations to proceed, and their master had no knowledge of them.¹⁴

But Sazonov had. Summarizing a portion of Yanushkevitch's testimony, Oman says:

After having had his telephone conversation with the Czar about demobilization, and his subsequent telephone conversation with Sukhomlinov, he [Yanushkevitch] ordered his carriage, drove to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and made a clean breast to Sazonov of what he had done, arguing that the countermanding of general mobilization was now technically impossible, whatever the Czar might wish. He says he found that Sazonov was quite of the

¹³Ibid., p. 71.

¹⁴Ibid.



JOHN SKIRVING EWART

⁸Oman, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

⁹Those fronting Germany.

¹⁰Oman, op. cit., p. 70.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

same opinion, and easily consented to overruling the imperial will. He said that he would draw up a new report, and present it to the monarch in the morning, approving general mobilization.¹⁵

The next morning (July 30) Sazonov and Sukhomlinov waited upon the Czar. Referring to the interview, Sukhomlinov, in his evidence, said:

Next morning I lied to the Czar, and explained to him that mobilization was taking place only in the districts in the southwest.¹⁶ * * * set himself to the task of demonstrating "that general mobilization was necessary." At any rate, it is clear that Nicholas II. was talked out of his resolution to cancel general mobilization and persuaded to refer the question of general or partial mobilization back to his Council of Ministers.¹⁷

At 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the 30th, the Russian Ministers met,¹⁸ as had been settled in the morning, and, after only ten minutes of discussion, reissued the formal order for general mobilization. The Czar signed the ukase, and orders were given for its promulgation during the night.¹⁹

Here ends one of the main episodes, according to one interpretation. Judging from this, the sequence of events was as follows: The Czar, on July 29, ordered mobilization against Austria-Hungary, and refused to agree to mobilization against Germany; the Generals, nevertheless, proceeded secretly with general mobilization—that is, proceeded to make war with Germany certain; Sazonov, in the evening, obtained (Oman does not say how) the assent of the Czar to general mobilization; the Czar, because of a telegram from the Kaiser, reverted (the same evening) to his refusal; the Generals, nevertheless, with Sazonov's concurrence, persisted with general mobilization. The next day the sanction of the Czar was secured.

This story, however, is improbable. It is not consistent with the assertions of the British and French Ambassadors

at St. Petersburg, and the discrepancy changes the relatively unimportant question, At what hour did the Czar give his assent to general mobilization? to, Where did the idea of secrecy in connection with the mobilization against Germany originate? According to the Oman view, the secrecy was introduced by the Generals. According to the other view—as we shall see—the Czar ordered at the outset open mobilization against Austria-Hungary, and secret mobilization against Germany.

FRENCH AMBASSADOR'S ROLE

In his book, "*La Russie des Tsars pendant la Grande Guerre*," M. Maurice Paléologue (the French Ambassador at St. Petersburg) has revealed the following:

At 11 o'clock in the evening (July 29) Nikolai Alexandrovitch Basily, Vice Director of the Chancellery of the Department of Foreign Affairs, presented himself at the embassy; he came to tell me that the imperious tone in which the German Ambassador had expressed himself that afternoon had determined the Russian Government: (1) to order, that very night, the mobilization of the thirteen corps destined to operate against Austria-Hungary; and (2) to commence secretly the general mobilization.²⁰

According to M. Paléologue, therefore, "the Russian Government"—that is, the Czar—had determined "to commence secretly the general mobilization." Paléologue, however, did not like that situation. Perceiving the inadvisability, from a political and international point of view, of "the Russian Government" mobilizing against Germany even "secretly," he urged mobilization against Austria-Hungary only. But Basily replied:

A council of our highest military chiefs * * * had determined that, under present circumstances, the Russian Government had no choice between partial and general mobilization; for partial mobilization would be technically practicable only if conditioned on disarranging all the mechanism of the general mobilization. If, then, we limit today our mobilization to the thirteen corps destined to operate

¹⁵Ibid., p. 76.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 78. The British Ambassador fixes the time as "early in the afternoon"; Buchanan, *My Mission to Russia*, I, p. 201.

¹⁷Op. cit., p. 78.

¹⁸According to Yanushkevitch's evidence, but four Ministers were present, those for War, Marine and National Affairs, respectively, and Sazonov. Yanushkevitch was also there.

¹⁹Op. cit., p. 79.

²⁰P. 35.

against Austria, and tomorrow Germany resolves to give her ally military support, we would be powerless to defend ourselves on the Polish and East Prussian frontier. Is not France interested as much as we are in our being able to intervene promptly against Germany?

To this communication, in which there was not a word about insubordinate Generals, Paléologue made a non-committal but skillfully suggestive reply, in effect: Why not the *General Staff* instead of the "Russian Government"? He added:

You raise some important considerations. I judge, nevertheless, that your General Staff ought not to take any step before conferring with the French General Staff. Will you be good enough to say to M. Sazonov that I call his most serious attention to this point and that I desire to receive his reply in the course of the night?

Sazonov saw the point, and acted promptly. Paléologue continues:

Hardly had Basily returned to the Foreign Office, before Sazonov asked me, by telephone, to send my chief secretary, Chambrun, to him "for a very urgent communication."

The secretary was told by Sazonov that the Czar had ordered cessation of the mobilization against Germany. That was what Paléologue expected, and, in this way, the official side of the matter was made correct. Paléologue was to know nothing officially about secret mobilization, nevertheless, it was to proceed, for, as he tells us, "at the same time" that Chambrun was summoned to hear that the Czar had forbidden mobilization against Germany, "my Military Attaché, General de Laguiche, was called to the General Staff. It was then three-quarters past midnight."

Paléologue does not tell us what took place at this meeting. It is not necessary. Laguiche met Yanushkevitch and was told that instead of "the Russian Government" secretly ordering mobilization against Germany, the Russian Generals were to do so. The French Ambassador was assured officially that mobilization against Germany was not proceeding. The Military Attaché was told that it was.

It is well worthy of note that when

Paléologue first published his work serially in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, he italicized, as of special importance, the word *secrètement* in the last phrase of the orders quoted by Basily: "to commence *secretly* the general mobilization";²¹ while in his book he dropped the italics as being (probably) much too suggestive. He left, however, the words with which in the *Revue* he followed the phrase, namely, "Ces derniers mots me font sursauter." (Those last words startled me, literally made me jump.) The French Ambassador, it may be said, did jump and jump effectively, so far as results are concerned, but he could not resist taking credit for it.

It is also well worthy of note that in an unpublished report of Sept. 15, 1917 (from which Oman was privileged to quote), Sir George Buchanan said:

At 11 o'clock at night on the 29th the French Ambassador was told by an official that secret preparations were on foot for general mobilization; half an hour later the Czar countermanded everything.²²

This makes it clear that the "secret preparations" had been ordered by the Czar, and that it was "secret preparations" which "half an hour later the Czar countermanded," at Paléologue's suggestion, as above indicated. Observe that the countermand had no relation whatever to mobilization against Austria-Hungary. It was the "secret preparations" which were being countermanded, as Paléologue had suggested.

A further noteworthy fact is that, although Sir George's unpublished report contains the paragraph just quoted, and, although he had read Paléologue's account of the incident, he (Sir George), in his book, "My Mission to Russia," makes no reference whatever to the secrecy of the preparation proceedings: omits altogether the statement contained in his report; and does not attempt to harmonize it with the narrative as presented in his book.

Finally, attention ought to be directed

²¹*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Jan.-Feb., 1921, p. 257.

²²Oman, op. cit., p. 76, note.

to the terms of the manifesto issued by the Czar to his people on Aug. 3. Referring to the Austro-Hungarian bombardment of Belgrade (July 28), the Czar said:

Forced by the situation thus created to take necessary measures of precaution, we ordered the army and navy put on a war footing, at the same time using every endeavor to obtain a peaceful solution. Pourparlers were begun amid friendly relations with Germany and her ally, Austria, for the blood and property of our subjects were dear to us. Contrary to our hopes in our good neighborly relations of long date, and disregarding our assurances that the mobilization measures taken were in pursuance of no object hostile to her, Germany demanded their immediate cessation. Being rebuffed in this demand, Germany suddenly declared war on Russia.²³

It will be observed: (1) That there is in this document no suggestion of first a partial and afterward a general mobilization; (2) that the order that was issued on the 29th because of the bombardment on the 28th was to put "the army and the navy on a war footing," viz., a general mobilization of both services; (3) that the order was concurrent with the beginning of "pourparlers" with Germany and Austria, and was not followed by any other order; and (4) that the only mobilization to which the Czar referred was that which Germany required should be discontinued—namely, a general mobilization. The cumulative effect of the foregoing considerations appears to make foolish the story that the Generals secretly ordered general mobilization (practically declared war on Germany) in contemptuous violation of the categorical orders of the Czar.

MEANING OF GENERAL MOBILIZATION

Thus far the recital is interesting and not unimportant, but, whatever may be the truth with reference to the discrepancies which it reveals, the momentous facts are: (1) that while hopeful negotiations for a peaceable solution of the quarrel were pending, and while the Kaiser, at the request of the Czar, was

acting as mediator at Vienna, Russian mobilization against Germany was ordered and was carried into active operation, and (2) that Russian mobilization against Germany inevitably meant war. Of this latter fact the Czar had been repeatedly warned,²⁴ not only by the German Ambassador, but by the British and French Ambassadors; and, irrespective of warnings, the Czar was well aware of the fatal significance of his action. He well knew that Germany's only hope of war success against the overwhelming numbers which her enemies could marshal lay in speed. As von Jagow (German Foreign Minister) said to the British Ambassador: "Rapidity of action was the great German asset, while that of Russia was an inexhaustible supply of troops."²⁵ Not only was that the view of the Czar, but it was his excuse for precipitate action. In his telegram to the British King of Aug. 1, he said: "My military advisers strongly advised a general mobilization owing to quickness with which Germany can mobilize in comparison with Russia."²⁶ M. Poincaré was of the same opinion, and offered as a reason for the excitement in St. Petersburg that "the immensity of the Russian Empire and the insufficiency of her means of communication rendered Russian mobilization much slower than that of the other European nations."²⁷

The Czar was well aware, too, that Russian mobilization would be promptly followed by that of Germany, and in acknowledging a message from the Kaiser he telegraphed (Aug. 1): "I comprehend that you are forced to mobilize."²⁸ For that event, Article II. of the Franco-Russian military convention provided as follows:

In the event that the forces of the Triple Alliance, or of one of the powers which compose it, should proceed to mobilize, France and Russia, at the first announcement of the event, and without the necessity for preliminary arrangements, will immediately and

²⁴Nine occasions can be specified.

²⁵British Blue Book, 1914, No. 160.

²⁶Collected Diplomatic Documents, p. 537.

²⁷Origins of the War, p. 236.

²⁸German White Book, 1914; in Coll. Dip. Docs., p. 443.

²³CURRENT HISTORY, European War, Vol. I., p. 358.

simultaneously mobilize all their forces, and will transport them to the nearest possible of their frontiers.²⁹

When negotiating this convention, the French representative, General de Boisdeffre, said to the Czar (Aug. 18, 1892) that "mobilization was a declaration of war," and the Czar replied, "that is exactly as I understand it."³⁰

PEACE HOPES KILLED BY RUSSIA

Although Germany's mediating efforts at Vienna were encountering dogged opposition, hope of a peaceful solution never vanished until Russian mobilization produced peremptory demand for its cancellation, emphatic refusal and war. Upon this point the witnesses concur. Sir Maurice de Bunsen, the British Ambassador at Vienna, in his final report (Sept. 1, 1914) said:

A few days' delay might in all probability have saved Europe from one of the greatest calamities in history.³¹

In his book, "My Mission to Russia," Sir George Buchanan, referring to July 31, at 11 P. M., said:

There were at that moment signs of a relaxation of the tension between Vienna and St. Petersburg; there had been friendly conversations between their respective Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors, and the Austrian Government seemed even disposed to admit a discussion as to the interpretation to be placed on the text of their note to the Serbian Government.³²

Sir Edward Grey's view was expressed in a telegram to Berlin of Aug. 1:

I still believe that it might be possible to secure peace, if only a little respite in time can be gained before any great power begins war. The Russian Government has communicated to me the readiness of Austria to discuss with Russia, and the readiness of Austria to accept, a basis of mediation which is not open to the objection raised in regard to the formula which Russia originally suggested.³³

On the same day, Sir Edward tele-

graphed to the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg:

You should inform Minister for Foreign Affairs and say that if, in consideration of the acceptance of mediation by Austria, Russia can agree to stop mobilization, it appears still to be possible to preserve peace.³⁴

That was distinct and strong support of the German demand of a few hours before. In the British Blue Book, 1914, under the caption, "Introductory Narrative of Events," is the following:

As the result of this offer (a formula proposed by Sazonov), Russia was able to inform his Majesty's Government on the 31st that Austria had at last agreed to do the very thing she had refused to do in the first days of the crisis, namely, to discuss the whole question of her ultimatum to Serbia. Russia asked the British Government to assume the direction of these discussions. For a few hours there seemed to be hope of peace.³⁵

M. Viviani, the French Foreign Minister, was of the same opinion. Telegraphing to the French Ambassador at London on Aug. 1, he said: "It would then seem that an agreement between Sir Edward Grey's suggestion, M. Sazonov's formula and the Austrian declarations could easily be reconciled."³⁶ Sazonov himself, extraordinary as it may appear, concurred in the general view. On the 31st, after having, on the 29th and a second time on the 30th, secured the Czar's assent to mobilization against Germany, and after publishing the order for the mobilization on the morning of the 31st, he telegraphed to the Russian Ambassador at London, saying:

I have requested the British Ambassador to express to Grey my deep gratitude for the firm and friendly tone which he has adopted in the friendly discussions with Germany and Austria, thanks to which the hope of finding a peaceful issue to the present difficulties need not yet be abandoned.³⁷

M. Shébéko, the Russian Ambassador at Vienna, had the same idea. When

²⁹French Yellow Book: L'Alliance Franco-Russe, 1918, p. 92.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 95-96.

³¹British Blue Book, 1914, No. 161.

³²Vol. I., pp. 203-204.

³³British Blue Book, 1914, No. 131.

³⁴Ibid., No. 135.

³⁵Price: The Diplomatic History of the War: Great Britain and the European Crisis, p. 8.

³⁶French Yellow Book, 1914, No. 427.

³⁷Russian Orange Book, 1914, No. 69.

taking leave of Berchtold (Aug. 1), he said that between the two countries "there was really only a great misunderstanding."³⁸

This being the situation, is the necessary inference that Russia wanted war? Everybody, or the majority in Russia? Not in the least. The Czar wanted peace, but the "autocrat of all the Russias" was a poor weakling, shoved hither and thither by his wife, by Rasputin, by Sazonov, by his Generals, by everybody. The Kaiser had cajoled him into signing a war treaty at Bjorkoe in 1905. He approved the determination of his special council of December, 1906, "to bring about such events in Constantinople as would furnish us a specious pretext for landing troops and occupying the Upper Bosphorus."³⁹ He wanted Constantinople, but he was afraid that a general war might land him elsewhere. His case reminds us of the French Emperor in 1870. Sazonov, too, wanted Constantinople, and, in a very important *mémoire* to the Czar of Nov. 23, 1913, he had pointed out that,

We cannot be sure that this question may not arise in the near future. * * * It is necessary to study the measures which can be taken to increase our military and naval power in the Black Sea.

It goes without saying that our Department of War, as well as that of the Navy, has the right to interrogate the Minister for Foreign Affairs as to what can be done in order to create for us the most favorable political circumstances, pending events which may require decisive action on our part. Repeating the wish above expressed for the status quo as long as possible, it is necessary also to repeat that the question of the Straits can only with difficulty take a forward step otherwise than by favor of European complications.⁴⁰

The question now is: In view of all this, how came it that during the Kaiser's mediation at Vienna, undertaken at the request of the Czar, Russian mobilization was ordered? Did the Generals force its institution?

SAZONOV'S RESPONSIBILITY

A telegram which, after the outbreak

of the war, Sazonov sent (Aug. 2) to Russian representatives abroad, suggests a reply:

We were forced to general mobilization by the immense responsibility which would have fallen on our shoulders if we had not taken all possible precautionary measures at a time when Austria, while confining herself to discussions of a dilatory nature, was bombarding Belgrade.⁴¹

The weight of Sazonov's responsibility was, indeed, burdensome and oppressive. He was in a perplexingly difficult position. He rightly distrusted Austria-Hungary. He was skeptical as to the asserted attitude of Germany. He was not aware of the peace pressure which was passing from Berlin to Vienna. He may have believed that Germany was in reality sympathizing with Austria-Hungary and urging her on. He did not know that Serbia, for the moment, was in no great danger; that Austria-Hungary was not in a position to attempt invasion for a further thirteen days. Probably he believed, as he said to the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, that Austria-Hungary was "only wanting to gain time by negotiations." Had he known what we now know—especially the attitude of Germany—he might have held his hand. But, placed as he was, it would seem that he had no alternative. Should he have assumed the responsibility of inactivity? Or, for the sake of two days' precedence in war preparation, should he have assumed the greater responsibility of terminating the negotiations and precipitating hostilities? The answer in each case is one that must be decided by history.

The predisposing causes (the *roots*, as I call them) of the World War, as of previous wars, are ascertainable, and may confidently be tabulated. To them, as to causes in other departments, must be attributed their respective products.

⁴¹In the official Russian Orange Book (No. 78) the word "general" was, for obvious reasons, omitted from the phrase "we were forced to general mobilization," and the statement that Austria "was bombarding Belgrade" was followed by the falsehood "and was undertaking general mobilization": Romberg, *The Falsifications of the Russian Orange Book*, pp. 61-62.

³⁸Austrian Red Book, Official Files, III., No. 90.

³⁹The Memoirs of Count Witte, p. 187.

⁴⁰Un Livre Noir, II., pp. 369, 371.

II. Lord Grey's Responsibility for Russia's Mobilization

By HERMANN LUTZ

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IN the European crisis of July, 1914, Great Britain's attitude was decisive for both sides. Germany, in her precipitate and rash support of Austria-Hungary's action against Serbia, counted upon British neutrality, especially as she did not believe Russian intervention very probable. Russia and France, on the other hand, had ample reason to believe that Great Britain would join them immediately at the outbreak of a general European war. For instance, in October, 1912, Viscount Grey of Fallodon, or Sir Edward Grey, as he then was, in a confidential conversation with Sazonov, the Russian Foreign Minister, "declared without hesitation" that in case of a conflict with Germany "Eng-

land would make every effort to strike the most palpable blow at the German naval power." King George was even more emphatic. He said to Sazonov: "We shall sink every single German merchant ship we shall get hold of."¹

It is true that subsequently the attitude of the British Foreign Office underwent some modification. But the belief of Russia and France in the active support of Sir Edward Grey and his Cabinet was again greatly strengthened by the "surprising" readiness with which the British Foreign Minister, in the Spring of 1914, entered into negotiations for a naval convention with Russia. On May 18, 1914, Count Benckendorff, the Russian Ambassador in London, in a report to St. Petersburg, doubted, "whether a more powerful guarantee for common military operations could be found in the event of war than this spirit of the Entente as it reveals itself at present, reinforced by the existent military conventions."² Therefore, Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt rightly says that Grey's "public statements on the one hand that he was a free agent, and his private assurances to France on the other encouraged both Continental groups to gamble, the one on British neutrality, the other on British support."³

International experts in increasing numbers assert that the premature Russian general mobilization was equivalent to the opening of hostilities against the Central Powers. This is a question in which military authorities should first



Hoppé

EARL GREY OF FALLODON

The British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at the outbreak of the war in 1914, when he was known as Sir Edward Grey

¹ "Un Livre Noir, Diplomatie d'avant-guerre d'après les documents des archives Russes," Paris, 1923. Vol. II, pp. 347-8. Sazonov reports the words of King George in English.

² B. de Siebert, *Entente-Diplomacy and the World, Matrix of the History of Europe, 1914-19*, New York 1921, p. 720.

³ "Triple Alliance and Triple Entente, 1902-14," in the *American Historical Review*, April 1924, p. 466.

of all be consulted. General Sergei Dobrorolski, the head of the Russian Mobilization Department in 1914, acknowledges in reminiscences originally published in Belgrade after the war that the Russian General Staff, as early as July 24, had decided upon war,⁴ and he writes with regard to the mobilization: "When its date is fixed, then everything is settled; there is no turning back: it mechanically predetermines the beginning of the war."⁵ Recently a former French diplomat, Alfred Fabre-Luce, has dealt exhaustively with this subject. He points out that the Russian mobilization "*by itself was sufficient to determine the unchaining of the war,*"⁶ and he declares that all succeeding diplomatic negotiations were therefore bound to be fruitless.⁷ There is plenty of evidence supporting this view, but it is enough to refer to the investigations and conclusions of historians such as Professors Sidney B. Fay, Harry Elmer Barnes, G. P. Gooch, Corrado and Barbagallo.⁸

Even those who contest that the Russian general mobilization made the European war inevitable will admit that it increased the tension enormously and brought matters very near to the breaking point. We know that France "did not do her best to avert" the war, but rather did the opposite, at least in the last days of the crisis.⁹ My present purpose, however, is to examine Great Britain's attitude toward Russian mobilization.

⁴ Die Mobilmachung der russischen Armee 1914, Berlin, 1922, p. 21. See also Harry Elmer Barnes, "Assessing the Blame for the World War," Current History, May 1924, p. 186, footnote 62.

⁵ Dobrorolski, op. cit., pp. 10, 29.

⁶ Italics are Fabre-Luce's.

⁷ La Victoire, Paris 1924, pp. 52-7, 152, 154, 209, 211-19.

⁸ Sidney B. Fay, "New Light on the Origins of the World War," American Historical Review, July, 1920; October, 1920; January, 1921; pp. 250-1. Harry Elmer Barnes, loc. cit. pp. 183, 187. G. P. Gooch, History of Modern Europe, 1878-1919, London, 1923, pp. 546-7. Corrado Barbagallo, "Come si scatenò la Guerra mondiale," in the Nuova Rivista Storica, Vol. VII., Nos. 1, 2, 3. It should also be noted that according to Baron Rosen, the former Russian Ambassador in Washington, "the general mobilization meant war" (Forty Years of Diplomacy, Vol. II., London-New York, 1922, pp. 187, 197). Baron Rosen knew this, and he happened to be in St. Petersburg in the critical days. He vainly tried his best to prevent the general mobilization (Op. cit., pp. 170-1).

⁹ Harry Elmer Barnes, loc. cit. pp. 289-91. The Falsification of the Russian Orange Book, London, 1923, pp. 49-54.

BRITISH AMBASSADOR'S CAUTION

On the morning after the provocative Austrian ultimatum to Serbia became known (July 24, 1914) Sazonov asked Sir George Buchanan, the British Ambassador, to meet him at the French Embassy.¹⁰ Sazonov and Maurice Paléologue, the French Ambassador, thought that war was imminent. Paléologue favored a firm policy and left no doubt about active French support in case of war. Sazonov "thought that Russian mobilization would at any rate have to be carried out." Both he and Paléologue "continued to press me [as Buchanan reports] for a declaration of complete solidarity of his Majesty's Government with the French and Russian Governments." But Buchanan declined and urged caution.¹¹

This conversation apparently gave Buchanan serious food for thought. When he saw Sazonov the following morning, July 25, he expressed "the earnest hope that Russia would not precipitate war by mobilizing" until Grey had been given time to use his influence in favor of peace. "I said all I could," Buchanan says in his report to London, "to impress prudence on the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and warned him that if Russia mobilized, Germany would not be content with mere mobilization, or give Russia time to carry out hers, but would probably declare war at once."¹² On the same day, July 25, Grey, in a dispatch to Buchanan, entirely approved of what Buchanan had said to Sazonov on the day before, but he continued, probably still unaware of Buchanan's timely warnings of July 25: "The sudden, brusque, and peremptory character of

¹⁰ Through the publication of the Journal of the Russian Foreign Office, it has become known that also the Rumanian Minister to Russia was asked to take part in the conference. This significant fact has not been mentioned in the official publications of England, France and Russia. See Der Beginn des Krieges 1914, Berlin 1924, pp. 6-8.

¹¹ English Blue Book, London, 1914, No. 6. Maurice Paléologue, in the Revue des Deux Mondes, Jan. 15, 1921.

¹² English Blue Book No. 17. The prophecy of Sir George Buchanan did not mature. The Russian general mobilization became known in Berlin at noon on July 31; but Germany herself did not issue her mobilization order until August 1, 5 P. M.

the Austrian *démarche* makes it almost inevitable that in a very short time both Russia and Austria will have mobilized against each other."¹³ Further, in a conversation with the Russian Ambassador in London on July 25, Grey foresaw "that the Austrian mobilization would entail the Russian mobilization." Naturally, Count Benckendorff at once informed Sazonov about this. He even seized the opportunity of sending on July 25 a second telegram to Sazonov, stating that according to Grey's opinion "the Austrian mobilization must entail the Russian mobilization."¹⁴

This hasty step of Grey's is the more conspicuous and surprising because he, at that time, could not possibly know to what degree and at what date Austria would mobilize. In fact, Austria issued her mobilization order for eight army corps, destined to move solely against Serbia, not before July 25, 9:30 P. M., after Serbia, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, had mobilized her whole army. It should also be borne in mind that Russia herself could in no way feel menaced by the Austrian move, as Austria, in conformity with German advice, had not mobilized on the Russian frontier. The divergent attitude of Grey and Buchanan on July 25, 1914, concerning the Russian mobilization deserves full attention. Since Grey had "entirely approved" of Buchanan's prudence of July 24, one might reasonably expect that Grey would also have "entirely approved" of his Ambassador's grave warnings of July 25. But in the documentary material there is no trace of this. The British Blue Book does not even contain an answer of Grey to Buchanan's long report of July 25. Apparently Grey never referred to it. It is,

moreover, significant that C. Oman, the semi-official narrator of the crisis,¹⁵ never alludes to either Blue Book No. 17 or 24, though he deals at great length with the Russian mobilization from July 25 to July 30 in a separate chapter where both documents surely would have found a proper place.

The fact has to be faced that on July 25 the British Ambassador in St. Petersburg very opportunely "said all he could to impress prudence" on Sazonov and to warn him earnestly against a mobilization, whereas at the same time Grey told the Russian Ambassador in London that he foresaw "in a very short time" the Russian mobilization. More vital is the fact that Sazonov heard of this, after Buchanan's warning, through two dispatches from Count Benckendorff. They were messages of the highest importance to the Russian Foreign Minister. He knew now, not later than the morning of July 26, that there was a wide difference of opinion between Buchanan and Grey, and that Grey would not mind; that, indeed, he rather counted upon a Russian mobilization against Austria, since the latter had mobilized against Serbia. Besides, Benckendorff, on July 26, had repeated to Sazonov his opinion that Russia would receive British cooperation, though perhaps somewhat belated.¹⁶ As Sazonov was already sure of French support,¹⁷ it is perfectly clear that Grey's "foresight" of July 25 must practically have wiped out Buchanan's warnings.

GREY'S PACIFIC INTENTIONS

Grey was undoubtedly pacific. On the other hand the German Government cannot be absolved of its share of responsibility for the war. No Govern-

¹³ English Blue Book No. 24.

¹⁴ Russian Orange Book No. 20, 22. Italics are mine. Count Benckendorff telegraphed a second time to St. Petersburg, because Grey also told the German Ambassador, Prince Lichnowsky, "he counts with certainty that the Austrian mobilization would entail the Russian mobilization" (report of Lichnowsky to Berlin, *Die deutschen Dokumente zum Kriegsausbruch*, Berlin 1919, No. 180). Note the gradation and climax in the words of Sir Edward: would entail . . . must entail . . . counts with certainty. No doubt, Grey meant to warn Berlin, but in St. Petersburg his words must naturally have had an entirely different effect.

¹⁵ The Outbreak of the War of 1914-18. A narrative based mainly on British Official Documents, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1919.

¹⁶ *Un Livre Noir*, op. cit., p. 330.

¹⁷ English Blue Book No. 6. Paleologue repeated his assurance of July 24 on July 28 "in the name of his Government" (*Der Beginn des Krieges* 1914, op. cit. p. 15). The French diplomat Fabre-Luce maintains that Poincaré, when leaving St. Petersburg on July 23, 1914, gave Russia *carte blanche* in case of war and that Paleologue's assurance to Sazonov on the 24th was official. Op. cit., p. 210.

ment was blameless.¹⁸ Grey did make strenuous efforts to avoid a general conflagration, but, unfortunately, he was, as most diplomats were, entirely inexperienced in military matters, and he apparently did not realize, at least at that time, the grave error he committed on July 25, 1914. He should have known that his Ambassador must have had very good reasons for warning Sazonov. It was, in fact, a matter in which Buchanan—seeing what was going on in St. Petersburg—was more entitled to a reliable judgment than Grey.

Unfortunately Grey never reconsidered his standpoint in this issue before it was too late. He obviously had in mind certain developments during the Balkan War of 1912-13, when Russia and Austria also "mobilized" against each other, but that was then no "mobilization" in the strict sense of the word. In 1912-13 Austria and Russia called in reserves during an extended period of time and thus gradually put certain troops on a war-footing. In 1914 it was quite different. After Serbia had, on July 24, mobilized her whole army (from 11 to 15 divisions) and had not accepted the Austrian ultimatum in its entirety, Austria ordered the mobilization of eight army corps, namely, 22 divisions. On the other hand, Russia, from the morning of July 26, began extensive preparations for war throughout the whole country—that is to say, on the German as well as on the Austrian frontier,¹⁹—and on July 29, mobilized the entire district of Kiev, Odessa, Moscow and Kazan, namely, 55 divisions against Austria.

Now consider the situation. Here was Austria with 22 divisions getting ready for war with Serbia. Experts knew that Austria would have a difficult task to break Serbian resistance in that mountainous country. Then Russia came in with 55 divisions against

the flank of Austria. The balance was thus at once overwhelmingly tilted in favor of Russia. And this thoroughly unequal situation, fostering aggression on the one side, and spreading fear on the other, was unwittingly brought about with Grey's express approval—diplomacy dabbling with military matters! But Grey's attitude on this specific issue involved another and very far-reaching result. The British Foreign Minister in his conversations with the Russian and German Ambassadors on July 25, 1914, without any doubt meant only a partial mobilization of Russia against Austria. Unfortunately, on technical grounds such a mobilization prevented, if prolonged, the efficient execution of the general mobilization.²⁰ Therefore, the military authorities in St. Petersburg worked from the beginning of the crisis for the issuance of the general mobilization order. They succeeded, with the active help of Sazonov, in forcing the Czar's hand on the afternoon of July 30.²¹ Grey certainly did not foresee precisely that. It is significant that on July 29 Reuter's correspondent in St. Petersburg telegraphed: "Confident of England's support, about which doubts have mostly disappeared, the Russian public is prepared to accept war."²²

There is ample reason to believe that a delay of a day or two might have saved the situation. As it is, on the basis of the evidence available, Sir Edward Grey must be held, without intention, partially responsible for Russia's fatal mobilization order.²³

¹⁸ Dobrorolski, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-5, 18-28.

¹⁹ Dobrorolski, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-32.

²⁰ Quoted by E. D. Morel in "Tsardom's Part in the War," London, 1917, p. 14. It is noteworthy that according to a dispatch of the German Ambassador to France the Parisian morning papers of the 30th were "self-confident because of the conviction that in case of war they could positively count on English help" (*Die deutschen Dokumente zum Kriegsausbruch*, *op. cit.*, No. 430).

²¹ See Fabre-Luce concerning the partiality of Grey, *op. cit.*, p. 62; concerning his lack of pressure in St. Petersburg, pp. 66-7; concerning the practically certain help of England, pp. 176-79, 238. The conclusion of Fabre-Luce regarding the outbreak of the war is that the Central Powers, by their actions, made the war possible, but that the Entente, by its actions, made the war certain. *Op. cit.*, p. 232. Professor H. E. Barnes has described very well the fear of France that England might notice the aggressiveness of Russia. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 190, 193.

¹⁹ I entirely agree with the historians S. B. Fay, H. E. Barnes, B. E. Schmitt, Qu Wright, G. P. Gooch, R. Beazley and many others concerning the pacific intentions of Sir Edward Grey and the divided responsibility of the Great Powers for the catastrophe.

²² Dobrorolski, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-2.

Recent Scientific Developments

By WATSON DAVIS

Managing Editor, Science Service

IS the long search of medical science for a chemical weapon to be used against the great white scourge, tuberculosis, about to be successful? Here is an unconquered disease affecting more than one out of every hundred of our population, yet the best, practically the only, treatment consists of giving the human body the best fighting chance possible by providing it with sunshine and good food. The cause of tuberculosis, the tubercle bacillus, has been known ever since Koch discovered it. Only recently, however, have scientists begun to tear the germ to pieces chemically and find out what it is made of. Pounds of tubercle bacilli have been analyzed at Yale University by Professor Treat B. Johnson and Robert D. Coghill. They have found a new nitrogen compound that had never been reported before in any animal matter, diseased or healthy. The hope of this research and of others in progress is to find eventually a chemical compound that will search out and kill the tubercle bacillus and leave the rest of the human body unharmed, just as quinine frustrates the malaria parasite without harming the person who takes it.

Perhaps the invention of a new chemical disinfectant, hexylresorcinol, fifty times as strong as carbolic acid, is a step toward the chemical annihilation of tuberculosis. The material for the new disinfectant comes from coal tar, from which the chemist has drawn so many useful dyes and drugs. One of these products, phenol or carbolic acid, is a valuable antiseptic, strong but clumsy, careless in discriminating between the invading microbes and the home guard. It sears the flesh like a hot iron when applied in full strength. A near relative to phenol is resorcinol, a milder substance which some have used in the vain attempt to make two hairs grow

on a head where none would grow before. Investigations by Professor Treat B. Johnson enabled Professor Veader Leonard of Johns Hopkins to develop the new powerful germicide which has been called hexylresorcinol. Professor Leonard, who has been testing the antiseptic power of these compounds and seeking their clinical application, finds this compound is about fifty times as effective as our old carbolic acid. That is to say, it could be diluted with fifty times as much water and would still be as poisonous to the microbes without injuring the bodily tissues. It can be safely taken internally by the mouth, and since it passes out largely through the kidneys it may be used to destroy the microbes and parasites of a tract of the body that has been hitherto difficult of access. Another member of the family, known as butyl resorcinol, is about half as powerful, but may prove on investigation to be useful for such purposes as gargles, tooth paste and the treatment of skin wounds, for it is stable and does not stain. All these compounds and many others are being systematically prepared and their physiological effects investigated by a committee of the National Research Council. The ideal germicide is yet to be found, and it is quite possible that in time something may be found, or rather made, to take the place of such metallic poisons as mercury and arsenic, which do kill the parasites of the body but not without danger to the body itself. The chemist may also make something that will hunt out and destroy the bacillus of tuberculosis in its most secret lairs.

AGE OF THE EARTH

That life existed on the earth when the oldest of known rocks were formed is claimed by Dr. John W. Gruner of the geology department of the University of

Minnesota. Traces of blue-green algae, very primitive microscopic plants, have been found by him in rocks of the age known to geologists as Archaean, hitherto thought to be free from all fossil remains. Many geologists believe that most of the Archaean rocks were formed by direct cooling of a molten earth, which would have meant a temperature too high for the existence of life. The rocks in which the new life traces were discovered have in the course of ages been subjected to immense pressures, changes and recrystallization to such an extent that the exact nature of the plant remains cannot be determined with certainty; but botanists consulted by Dr. Gruner have no doubt that they were some kind of algae. If they were algae of the blue-green type, there is still a possibility that they may have existed in a very warm environment, for plants of this kind still live in the nearly boiling natural waters of Yellowstone Park and other regions where there are hot springs, though blue-green algae are also common in water of ordinary temperatures. Because of the fact that most of the oldest fossils hitherto known, from rocks much younger than the Archaean, are of animals and plants relatively high in the evolutionary scale, biologists and geologists have long predicted on theoretical grounds that simpler remains would some day be found in older formations. Dr. Gruner's find is therefore looked upon as an interesting confirmation of this scientific prophecy. And inasmuch as blue-green algae were among the plants whose probable early existence was looked for, the fulfillment is regarded as the more accurate. Other organic remains of almost equal age have been found in rocks of the Olgonkian and Huronian periods by Dr. Charles D. Walcott, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. In these rocks, which belong to the geological times immediately following the Archaean, Dr. Walcott has demonstrated the existence of blue-green algae and bacteria; but here, as also in the Archaean, no sure sign of animal

life has yet been found. Animal fossils appear for the first time in the Cambrian, which followed these three earliest geological epochs.

An age of at least 1,250,000,000 years has been assigned to the earth by experiments reported to Professor A. C. Lane of Tufts College, Chairman of the National Research Council committee on estimation of geologic age by atomic disintegration, which is carrying on extensive investigations. Dr. H. V. Ellsworth of the same committee and of the Canadian Geological Survey, Ottawa, has made chemical analyses of the original crust of the earth in the Canadian region, and the relative amount of the radioactive elements and the lead decomposition products indicates that those minerals date back a billion and a quarter years in that region. Professor Lane in a report to the Canadian Mining Institute called attention to this method as about the only way of safely matching beds and determining their order in the early days before there were any well-marked fossils, in the ages which he calls "collozoic" because the animals may have been but jelly. Of course, even these immense stretches of years do not go back to the time when the earth was molten, and Dr. T. C. Chamberlin of Chicago has doubted if it ever was. But Dr. Lane has pointed out a possible way of calculating how long ago it was, if it was. The lead derived from radium, while indistinguishable in every other way from ordinary lead, is slightly lighter, the weight of its atom being 206, while that of ordinary lead is 207.18. On the other hand, thorium also yields lead which has a little greater weight, say 208. Now, why should not lead from different places have more range in weight? Dr. T. W. Richards of Harvard, a chemist who has won the Nobel prize, has suggested that ordinary lead dates back to a molten earth, and it was the mixing that then took place which makes the atomic weight so uniform, generally speaking. Kirsch, the geologist, has suggested that both thorium and radium are produced from uranium but at different rates.

Dr. Lane has calculated that if Kirsch and Richards are right, some 240,000,000 years earlier than the earliest known mineral cited by Kirsch the uranium must have contained the atoms changing to thorium and to uranium in such proportions that they would give ordinary lead, so that if ordinary lead was formed that way, the molten condition of the world antedates the ancient granites of Moss in South Norway about a quarter of a billion years. Even these are not the earliest minerals known, but, making some allowance for lead not so derived, it is assumed that they are 900,000,000 years old. Thus, geologists can say that there is no reason to believe the earth crusted over less than 1,100,000,000 years ago.

WHAT IS A TORNADO?

A tornado does not usually damage an area larger than a quarter of a mile in width and thirty miles long, so that great havoc is done only when this swath strikes some populous district. This was the case with the disaster of March 18, which overtook a number of large towns. The average number of tornadoes per annum in Illinois is about five, while in Kansas, where they are most frequent, it is about six and a half. In other States in the Mississippi Valley they occur less frequently. They never occur in, or west of, the Rocky Mountains, but at rare intervals they have been recorded as far east as Virginia; and several years ago a mild one occurred within a few miles of Washington. Tornadoes consist of whirling masses of air which can even lift from the earth large objects coming within their grasp. Exactly what causes them, or why they occur in the Mississippi Valley and only on very rare occasions in other parts of the world is not known. The Rocky Mountains are probably partially responsible. Their trend is slightly west of north, so that they tend to deflect cold winds from Canada toward the Gulf of Mexico. Opposed to them are the trade winds from the Gulf, which, unlike the Canadian winds, are

warm and humid. The opposition of these two sets of winds gives rise to the conditions which cause a tornado. The Weather Bureau is able to predict in a general way the occurrence of a tornado, but it cannot predict the precise territory that will be affected. Therefore, in order to prevent the people in affected regions from becoming unduly alarmed, the bureau has made it a policy not to issue tornado warnings.

NEW INCUBATION METHODS.

It is not improbable that the incubator may soon be made to rival the hen in efficiency. A British electrical engineer, Llewellyn B. Atkinson, has been experimenting, and he believes that the missing link in modern incubation methods is that the eggs are heated too nearly alike on both sides. In the hen's nest there is from 14 to 20 degrees difference between the top of the egg, which is close to the hen's body, and the lower surface of the egg. With this apparently shiftless method of protecting the eggs, a setting hen hatches about 90 per cent. of her chicks, if she is ordinarily responsible and does not leave the nest or break the eggs. Designers of modern incubators attempted to improve on the hen's system by heating the eggs about the same all over. Incubators sometimes make as high an efficiency record as that of the mother hen, but 60 per cent. is said by poultry expert to be average. In the British experiment a thin sheet of india rubber was placed like a blanket over the eggs and the method produced remarkable results. In an incubator which has rarely hatched above 55 per cent. of the eggs placed in it, this percentage was raised to over 95 per cent. of the fertile eggs. Half a million or a million chicks are hatched each year in some of the mammoth commercial hatcheries in the United States, and the baby chick crop turned out by American incubators probably exceeds 100,000,000. A 40 per cent. increase in efficiency would mean millions of dollars to the industry.

Armies and Navies of the World

UNITED STATES

INTEREST in American military affairs during the month centred upon the completion of the modern airplane carrier, *Saratoga*. Secretary of the Navy Wilbur announced on March 20 that the *Saratoga* would be launched on April 7. The *Saratoga* is described by naval officials as the biggest single contribution to the naval air service yet made by the Government. The vessel represents an outlay of \$43,000,000; it has a speed capacity of between thirty-three and thirty-four knots and will carry a fleet of seventy-two combat, bombing, torpedo, scouting and observation planes; these planes will operate from a flying deck 105 feet wide and extending over the top from stem to stern. The ship, which is 888 feet long and will carry eight eight-inch guns in four turrets, was built at the plant of the New York Shipbuilding Corporation in Camden, N. J.

Secretary Wilbur announced that the *Lexington*, sister ship to the *Saratoga*, would be completed later in the year. Commenting upon the significance of these additions to the national defense forces, the Secretary said:

These two vessels represent an outlay of \$90,000,000, which is the largest single contribution to the air forces of the navy ever authorized. The combined horsepower of the two ships totals 360,000, which would be sufficient to operate all the industries of such a city as San Francisco. The two airplane carriers almost equal the horsepower of the entire navy in 1918.

The War Department on March 25 announced the following program for the Summer Citizens' Training Camps of 1925:

First Corps Area—Fort Adams, R. I., July 1 to July 30. Camp Devens, Mass.; Fort McKinley, Me.; Fort Ethan Allen, Vt., and Fort Terry, N. Y., Aug. 1 to Aug. 30. Camp Alfred Vail, N. J., Aug. 3 to Sept. 1.

Second Corps Area—Two camps at Plattsburg Barracks, N. Y., one July 1 to 30, and

one Aug. 3 to Sept. 1. Madison Barracks, N. Y.; Fort Hancock, N. J., and Fort Dupont, Del., Aug. 3 to Sept. 1, and San Juan, P. R., June 25 to July 24.

Third Corps Area—Camp Meade, Md.; Fort Eustis and Fort Monroe, Va., July 1 to 30.

GREAT BRITAIN

THE British Army and Navy Estimates for the year 1925-1926 were issued on March 12 and 13, respectively. Especially significant was the army budget, which totaled £44,500,000 (approximately \$222,500,000), marking a reduction of £500,000 (approximately \$2,500,000) on the budget of the current year; the decrease was attributed to a reduction in terminal charges. The new budget provided for a standing army of 160,600, which is 900 less than at present; it was explained that the reduction in army forces represented the result of administrative economies, and that there had been no reduction of fighting units.

The Secretary of State for War, in commenting upon the budget, said that the results of recruiting during the past twelve months had been a disappointment; the total number of men obtained was 30,000, as against 34,000 vacancies. Declaring that there was a lack of public interest in the military, the Secretary ascribed this to war weariness among the younger men, to the attractions of immigration, and to the uncertainty of employment at the end of military service.

It was estimated in the budget that the entire British army establishment, inclusive of troops in India, the territorial army and reserves and other auxiliary bodies, comprised 583,127 mobilizable men. Maintenance of a force of 11,415 men in Egypt and in the Sudan was provided for in the appropriation requests.

The naval estimates for 1925-1926 totalled £60,500,000 (approximately \$302,500,000); this figure included

£1,320,000 (approximately \$6,600,000) for the fleet air arm and £50,000 (approximately \$250,000) for naval work done at the Army Experimental Establishment, Shoeburyness. W. C. Bridgeman, First Lord of the Admiralty, explained that the inclusion of the fleet air arm appropriation had been authorized by the Committee on the Relations Between the Navy and the Air Force.

The naval budget total was more than £5,000,000 (approximately \$25,000,000) in excess of that of the current year. Mr. Bridgeman addressed Parliament on March 19 in defense of the increase. Reviewing Britain's compliance with the Washington treaties, he said that 400,000 tons of British warships had been scrapped. In discussing a budget item which provided for an increase in naval personnel of 2,125 men, Mr. Bridgeman stated that there were but 102,657 men in the British navy.



Harris & Ewing

BRIG. GEN. WILLIAM MITCHELL
Formerly Assistant Chief of the Air
Service of the United States

The Air Ministry on March 30 announced plans for the construction of the R-101, a new airship; this vessel, work on which will start in July, will be 720 feet long and 140 feet high and will have accommodations for 100 passengers. The ship's frame will be of steel, and the engines will burn oil, instead of gasoline.

The Commonwealth Government of Australia on March 25 placed an order with Vickers, Ltd., England, for the construction of two submarines, at a total cost of £716,000 (approximately \$3,580,000).

JAPAN

AN unofficial summary of Japan's naval and aerial budgets for 1926 was made public through the American State Department on March 7. The naval budget, which called for expenditures 20 per cent. less than last year, totaled 224,875,118 yen [the yen at par is equivalent to about 49 cents in United States currency]. Of this total the ordinary expenditure under the Japanese system was estimated at 122,349,150 yen; of the latter amount one item of 36,015,988 yen was for construction of war craft, arms and repairs. The allowance for extraordinary expenditure was 102,525,968 yen, of which 88,000,000 yen was to be devoted to construction, including 31,194,425 yen for warships and 56,805,575 yen for auxiliary craft. Substantial aerial expansion was provided for in the budget, which allowed 1,200,000 yen for increased air forces.

The Japanese Navy Department on April 3 announced the completion of plans for the construction of twenty-two warships with a total tonnage of 124,900; the new vessels will include eight first-class cruisers, three second-class cruisers, ten destroyers and an airplane mother ship. On the same day it was announced that during the next three years the Ministry of War would send seven experts to France, five to America, three to England and three to Germany to study the development of new weapons of warfare.

The Japanese naval cruiser Furutaka, first of several war craft permitted under the terms of the Washington agreement, was launched on Feb. 25.

GERMANY

MARSHAL FOCH during the month under review repeated his charges that Germany, within her present military and quasi-military organizations, had preserved the frame for an army equal to that which was thrown into the World War in 1914. Marshal Foch and his associates on the Interallied High Commission spent two weeks studying a report which had been prepared for the Council of Ambassadors and which contained much new material relative to the present military status of Germany. A summary of the findings of Marshal Foch and his associates was published in Paris on March 2. The Marshal charged that virtually the entire skeleton of the German General Staff and military machine had been preserved; the present Reichswehr, he contended, was made up exclusively of ex-officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, who were being trained, not for fighting in the ranks, but for commanding troops; pointing out further that the German General Staff comprised 250 high officers, only 60 less than the number of the staff for the Kaiser's pre-war army of 1,000,000 men, General Foch estimated that the Reichswehr could now furnish the frame for an efficient army of from 500,000 to 600,000 men.

In response to criticisms previously voiced by Marshal Foch, Chancellor Luther of Germany on Feb. 25 ordered General von Seeckt to immediately disband various quasi-military organizations which had been adjuncts to the bona fide army of student recruits.

RUSSIA

REPORTS of a projected expansion of the Soviet air forces reached the United States Army Air Service on March 21; it was stated that the program of expansion, which was to become effective this year, provided for the con-

struction of 1,030 new airplanes; of these 500 were to be built in Russia, chiefly by the Russian Junkers Company; 330 were to be built by the Fokker Company of Holland, and 200 by Italian firms. During the first six months of last year, according to the same source of information, the Soviet Government purchased 700 planes in Holland and Italy.

ARGENTINA

THE Ambassadors' Conference reported to the League of Nations at Geneva on Jan. 27 that the Krupps, the foremost armament manufacturing house in Germany, had submitted bids for the construction of boilers for torpedo boats for the Argentine navy; the Ambassadors claimed that such action by the Krupps constituted a violation of the Versailles Treaty. The Argentine Government had called for the bids subsequent to the enactment of legislation providing for naval expansion. Naval expansion was one of the chief questions of the month under discussion in Argentina; the recent reorganization of the Brazilian navy by American officers had inspired an active sentiment among Argentines for a larger and more modern fleet.

One aerial fatality was recorded during the month; Lieutenant Chapman, army aviator, was killed, and his mechanic seriously injured, when, on March 19, their airplane crashed at the La Plata race track.

BRAZIL

THE United States Naval Commission which had been reorganizing the Brazilian navy since 1923 completed its task in January, 1925. Rear Admiral Carl T. Vogelgesang, former Commandant of the Brooklyn Navy Yard and head of the commission; Lieutenant John D. Pennington, the Admiral's aid, and Commander William Baggely, U. S. N., all members of the commission of which Admiral Vogelgesang was head, arrived in New York on Feb. 3; they proceeded at once to Washington.

Count Karolyi's Exposure of Hungary's Despotic Rule

By EMIL LENGYEL

HISTORY furnishes few examples of a man spurning the privileges that had endowed him with the highest distinction in his native land and choosing poverty and ostracism instead of affluence and social eminence. Even less frequent is it for a political outlaw to analyze the deeds of his persecutors in a cool and scientific spirit. During the intimate conversations which I was privileged to have with Count Michael Karolyi, the first President of the Hungarian Republic, he told me repeatedly how hard he had had to wrestle with himself in order to attain objectivity. Yet he succeeded, so that when one discussed with him the issues of the day one could not help feeling that here was a statesmanly sage such as Plato dreamed of. Nor does Count Karolyi see the problems of his own country merely as such, but as part of the larger worldwide problem.

The remarks here recorded, which have been gathered from many conversations with Count Karolyi, are confined to a summary of how he looks at the Hungarian problem and how he interprets its possibilities for the peace of Europe. After a careful consideration of all the evidence he has come to the conclusion that the role that Macedonia and Albania had played formerly in jeopardizing the peace of Europe has now been assumed by Hungary. He thinks there is still time for those who can influence the destinies of Europe to heed his warning. The rulers may have cause for bitter regrets if the warning remains unheeded.

Reaction, in Count Karolyi's opinion, may be justified in certain circumstances. No one can justly object to it if it performs the function of stopping the excesses of a revolution and of preserving its genuine achievements. Reaction,

however, ought not to undo what public opinion, engendered by the accumulation of popular bitterness at oppression and by the desire for reforms, has accomplished. "Besides, it must not under any circumstances degenerate into bloody reprisals," said Count Karolyi. He continued:

The Hungarian counter-revolution, as it is conducted under the régime of Admiral Horthy, has done all it could, not only to retard the country's progress, so auspiciously inaugurated during the October revolution, but also to bring back mediaeval conditions.

The central idea of Horthy's Hungary is that the war has not been lost and that the country's pre-war territory must be recaptured by force of arms. Professor Malbone W. Graham, whose book, "New Government of Central Europe," gives a fair appraisal of some of Hungary's political phenomena, expresses the first part of my contention in this sentence: "The Hungarian statesmen of the post-revolutionary period never attempted to disclaim any of the responsibilities of Hungary, as did the Austrians, by claiming that Hungary was a new State and that the personality of the old Hungary had ceased to exist."

The all-absorbing aim of the present Hungarian régime is preparation for war. Just the other day I read a report in a Hungarian paper saying that an aristocrat had set up his own soldiery and that he appointed himself its Captain. According to the Hungarian laws and the peace treaty, such irregular military formations are illegal. Yet the Hungarian Government not only tolerates them, but I have no doubt that it looks with favor upon their creation. Simultaneously, the present régime is building up a semi-military organization the like of which has not existed in Hungary for the last few centuries. Its mem-

Emil Lengyel, an intimate friend of Count Karolyi, was the Count's confidential secretary during his stay in America. Graduated as a Doctor of Laws from the Budapest Royal Hungarian University, Mr. Lengyel subsequently became coeditor of the *Ungarische Rundschau* of Vienna. He is now the American correspondent of the Vienna daily *Die Stunde* and of the weekly *Die Börse*, as well as a frequent contributor to many American periodicals.

bers are called "heroes" who receive landed property from the State under the pretense of having done great service to the country during the war. In reality, these freeholders are scarcely different from the mediaeval vassals or the Turkish Janissaries. They are morally bound to defend Horthy and his accomplices if the necessity arises.

MILITARIST HYPOCRISY

Hungary's neighbors, who are aware of the danger, are compelled to stand ready for any emergency, says Count Karolyi. He knows that at the present moment the country would not be able to carry on warfare with the whole world because it is not yet sufficiently prepared. It has not yet received from foreign countries all the money it wants to have. Officially, Horthy has to play the rôle of the good boy who is obediently following the dictates of the peace treaty. He must first earn the confidence of foreign countries so that the flow of gold to Hungary should not be interrupted. When, therefore, the Hungarian militarists are standing near the window, where the whole world can see them, they profess to be absorbed in devout prayer. When, however, they think that they are among themselves they indulge in the wildest schemings, all of which are directed toward restoring the territorial integrity of the country by wresting the ceded land from the enemy. Of course, this bellicose attitude cannot be kept secret from Hungary's neighbors, who are watching vigilantly every move of the Magyar jingoes. This shows, as Count Karolyi sees things, how inadequate it is to attempt simply to outlaw war without taking further precautions to outlaw the incitements to war as well.

Declaring that a free Hungary, governed by citizens conscious of their power, would never consent to the folly of venturing on a new war, Count Karolyi continued:

For that reason the masses who inhabit Hungary had to be deprived even of their most elementary rights. The most potent method of achieving this aim is the falsification of the public will as it is expressed at the polls. Just the other day the news was divulged that

Count Bethlen's Government intended to adhere to the present system of open elections. The last election was not secret, either, with the exception of a few large cities. This meant that the population of the rural communities and of the towns could be terrorized into voting for the most bloody-mouthed candidate. Thus it happened that in many places the Jewish population had to vote for the candidates of the Awakening Hungarians, whose program includes the wholesale butchery of Jews, or, where this is out of the question, their expulsion or elimination from public life. The Prime Minister, in advocating this system of election, declared that "secret voting is not compatible with the character of the Hungarian who likes to show his colors." He insisted that secret polling is a "surreptitious and underhand way of selecting one's parliamentary representative."

The same mediaeval spirit which pervades the "reform" of the electoral law is manifest in the bill, which would set up the "House of Nobles" as the second chamber of the Hungarian Parliament.

Before the Karolyi revolution Hungary, it should be explained, had a House of Nobles, which was one of the most reactionary legislative bodies on earth. It consisted mostly of the members of the House of Habsburg, of the members of the highest aristocracy, if their wealth exceeded a certain limit, the representatives of the recognized religious bodies, with the exception of the Jews, and of members appointed by the king. One of the piquant features of the proposed new upper house is that it is to include those members of the House of Habsburg whose domicile is in Hungary. It seems superfluous to dwell any longer on this fact, or to adduce it as evidence of the duplicity of the present Hungarian régime, which had several years ago enacted a law depriving the Habsburgs of their privileges. The other members of the new House of Nobles represent the most reactionary elements of the country. Their majority would be either appointed by the Government or would be dependent upon it. By this means the Hungarian executive power would simply smuggle itself into the legislature. Even the ultra-reactionary members of the old House of Nobles, in their recent protest meeting, could not

help voicing their belief that the new chamber would be a tool in the hands of whoever controls the Government.

Count Karolyi, a man in whose whole being justice to others is deep-rooted, is profoundly alarmed at seeing the Hungarian courts become the judicial terror detachments of the counter-revolution. Enlarging on his point, he said to me:

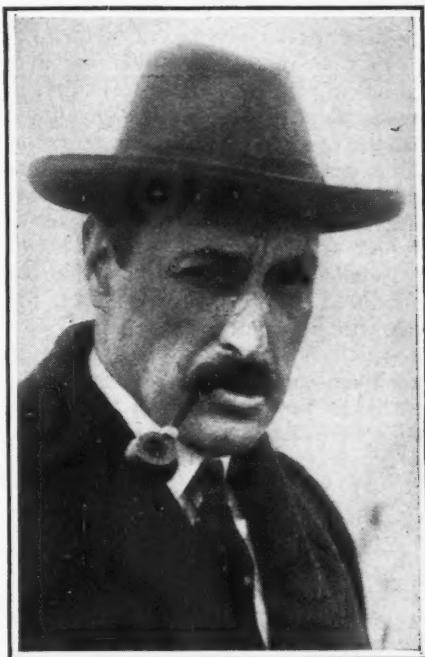
The Bloody Assizes and the ghost of Judge Jeffreys are now haunting the Hungarian Courts of Justice. The horrors of the Star Chamber and of the torture chambers of the Holy Inquisition are nothing when compared with what is still going on in Hungary. I have just finished reading an account of the case of a man who has been executed in Hungary for espionage. Mind you, this happened years after the armistice. Not only that, but it turned out that the man on the strength of whose testimony the victim was sent to the gallows was insane and had been for years active as the bloodhound of the White Terror.

In the paper which is lying on my table I see that the other day a corporal of the so-called Hungarian National Army had one of his privates hanged for insubordination without even reporting the case to his superiors. When at last proceedings were begun after a liberal newspaper had threatened to expose the scandal, the prosecuting attorney issued a statement in which he commended the patriotic motives of the murderer.

It is horrifying to see how divergent are the sentences passed by Hungarian Judges in cases in which the defendants are of different political affiliations. I was particularly impressed by the account of the trial of two journalists. One of them, the editor of a liberal paper, had written an article on the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of the World War, enumerating the damage done to life and property. The Court found, seven years after the conclusion of the armistice, that the article was apt to hurt Hungary's good reputation and that it was "defeatist." Its writer was sentenced to a heavy jail term. The other newspaper editor, who is the head of a terroristic periodical, had advocated "the extermination of the Jewish race." He was punished with a nominal fine.

MUZZLING THE PRESS

In the course of our conversations I reminded Count Karolyi that several other methods are utilized for muzzling the press. One of them was incorporated in a statement made by the editor of



Wide World Photos

COUNT MICHAEL KAROLYI

First President of the Hungarian Republic, photographed on his arrival in the United States

A Het, a Hungarian weekly published in New York, to the effect that numerous foreign publications, among them CURRENT HISTORY, were barred from transportation on the Hungarian railways, which is equivalent to their being barred from the country. The Count said that the editor of A Het was quoted as having declared that he saw an announcement which excluded CURRENT HISTORY from Hungary. I told him of my experience that whenever I tried to get a copy of that magazine to Hungary it was invariably "lost" in some mysterious way, while my other newspaper packages which did not contain "illicit" reading matter have reached their destination.

As a champion of civil liberties and as a student of social psychology Count Karolyi is intensely interested in the mentality of extreme reactionaries. He was greatly concerned over the details of the outrageous murder, several years

ago, of two editors of the Budapest Socialist paper, *Nepszava*, which, according to recent investigations made public, implicated Admiral Horthy, the present Regent of Hungary. It appears that the car in which the murderers had kidnapped their victims belonged to the headquarters of the Hungarian National Army, whose head at the time of the murder was Admiral Horthy. There is also evidence that before the crime was committed Admiral Horthy had a banquet with the murderers, in the course of which much was spoken about the two Socialist editors. Admiral Horthy is said to have interrupted the conversation by exclaiming impatiently: "We have had enough talk. We want to see action now." A few days later he had his "action" when the bodies of the editors were found. After the commission of the crime the murderers were fêted at the army headquarters where a few days previously Horthy had uttered those fateful words. Count Karolyi, though somewhat reluctant to speak about Horthy, whose name is associated with the memory of so many massacres, went on to say:

Every one knows who Horthy is. One has but to read the report by Colonel Josiah Wedgwood of the British Labor Party on the Hungarian White Terror. Some chapters of Professor Jaszi's book, "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Hungary," contain much for readers who are not too greatly horrified by reading about cruel murders, the maiming of dead bodies, rape and legalized burglary. Some sensational author of stories that aim at making your flesh creep could find inspiration in those chapters. He could have his heroes die by one of the several methods devised by the imaginative heroes of Admiral Horthy. Burying innocent women alive, clubbing alleged radicals to death, amputating their limbs and arms and letting them bleed to death, have been among the favorite pastimes of the subordinates of Hungary's Regent. As to his friendship with those who murdered on a wholesale scale, he gave public testimony of his affectionate relationship with them by declaring to Colonel Wedgwood that the notorious Hejjas and his accomplices were his best officers.

It requires a certain amount of naïveté to believe that Admiral Horthy is one of the pillars of peace, as a few people still profess

to believe. Of course, I am aware that there are innocent souls who always believe the man who is in office, no matter how evident it is that the authority he sways was captured by dishonest or criminal methods. Is it not remarkable that a man who is on the list of war criminals should find friends even in the countries of the former Allies? I am satisfied that these people let themselves be misled into believing that Admiral Horthy had saved the world from the Habsburg menace. They do not realize that but for Admiral Horthy's duplicity King Charles would never have attempted his two desperate adventures to regain the Hungarian throne. The man who had publicly declared that he was holding his high office in trust until his sovereign returned to the throne is not entitled to the credit he is given.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Referring to the economic problems of Hungary, Count Karolyi said:

The gang of adventurers and desperadoes who are oppressing the Hungarian people have extended their activity to the economic field as well. The economic terror that is raging in Hungary is unparalleled in the history of any of the so-called civilized countries. It is true that Hungary's currency is stabilized. But the price of the stabilization was the blood of the poor people. For all practical purposes there is no non-taxable income in Hungary. The taxation is only slightly progressive, so that it weighs very heavily upon the poor. The owners of the huge landed estates are the most prosperous, for they are the only ones the prices of whose products have consistently kept pace with the increasing prices of the world market and with the decreasing value of the Hungarian crown. They are accumulating immense fortunes, while the common people are driven to despair through the merciless system of taxation.

The same system of treating the big landowners with gloved hands applies to the Government's so-called "land policy." While all around Hungary the distribution of land has been adjusted to the changed conditions by giving the landless an opportunity of buying with governmental aid parts of the huge estates, Hungary is still the classical country of landlessness. One often wonders how those millions who so vainly crave for a piece of land or some other means of livelihood are able to make both ends meet. Their condition has been aggravated in recent years because of their inability to leave the country. Formerly they could at least hope to emigrate to America. Now that the gates are barred, they

are caught in a trap from which there is no escape. Economic slavery is their only means of eking out a miserable livelihood. The poor landless pariahs have to sell themselves for agricultural work during the Summer months. And happy are those who find some one willing to take them.

This reversion to medieval conditions is apparent, as Count Karolyi sees it, not only from the political and economic, but also from the social standpoint:

The Horthy régime is creating thousands of titular offices, the incumbents of which are to be addressed as "Your Greatness," "Your Dignity" or "Your Excellency." Social distinctions have perhaps never been so sharply drawn as at present. The aristocrats, the Roman Catholic Clergy, and the military officers' caste rule supreme. Regent Horthy's "court" is more resplendent than that of any of the kings of the other European countries. He has an amazing number of fantastically dressed court guards at his disposal. As he is despised by many aristocrats, there is a considerable amount of competition on their part to show the upstart that a Hungarian nobleman of the old stamp can create at least as much splendor as he. The big financiers of this new era also strive to imitate the lions of the day, thus providing a display of self-assumed social superiority which throws into sharp relief the utter destitution of the mass of the people. Yet, no one dares to say a word against this state of affairs, because to do so would result in being punished for rebellion. In a country where there is no free speech, no free assemblage, no free press and which is oppressed by a ruthless military clique that holds the whole Government in the hollow of its hands, there is not much chance of raising one's voice against social inequality.

What is the remedy? asks Count Karolyi, and he replies:

First of all, Horthyism must be destroyed. The world should beware lest the remedy be too late. The Horthy régime is a festering ulcer in Europe's body which must be cut out, and the sooner the better. There is no excuse for the world to stand by idly and say that Hungary is such a small country that she does not deserve to be bothered about. History has shown us that it is very often the small countries that serve as matches to start conflagrations. Criminals playing with fire, like Horthy and his associates, must be stopped. Hungary, with a hard-working and liberal-minded population, must not be allowed to suffer from the

tyranny of a few desperadoes who are supported from abroad.

As soon as Horthy is no longer Hungary's dictator, democracy must be re-established. Freedom of speech and of the press must be the first concern of a democratic Government. The system of trial by jury is another essential without which no country can be truly free. Universal and secret suffrage must be restored so that the popular will can once more express itself. In a country like Hungary life will be unbearable for millions until an equitable land reform is enacted. Poverty will stalk in the land as long as one landowner is permitted to own 800,000 acres, while the population of hundreds of neighboring villages is deprived of the possibility of owning a single acre. The law which bars all but a small percentage of Jews from the Hungarian institutions of higher learning must be immediately repealed. The other instruments of the White Terror must be put out of commission and, finally, the people must be asked what form of government they want.

The peace treaty was very unjust to Hungary. If a plebiscite had been taken, the country would have lost only one-third instead of three-fourths of its pre-war territory. As it is Hungary lost a purely Magyar population of 3,000,000. They took away towns of which the population was 100 per cent. Hungarian.

DANUBE CONFEDERATION ESSENTIAL

This injustice must be made good by mutual understanding and not by preparation for war, Count Karolyi avers. He thinks that the world at large does not give sufficient thought to the methods by which the problems of Eastern Central Europe can be solved. In his opinion, the idea of the Danube Confederation of Nations must not be disposed of with a contemptuous gesture as if it were a Utopian dream. It has now become a crying need which must receive serious consideration. He advocates an economic alliance between the countries surrounding the Danube, for several reasons. Among them is the present chaotic condition of frontiers, which leads to the ridiculous situation that a house can be in two different countries. Friction among the numerous countries situated in the valley of the Danube can be eliminated only if those countries are united in the compass of a higher entity

which has common aims. The peoples of Europe feel that, however distasteful such an economic consolidation may be for those countries which had but recently liberated themselves from the fetters of another superstate, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, there is no other solution of the many international problems that confront the small States of the Danube Valley. Many liberal elements in Hungary as well as in Austria are urging an international merger which would put an end to the plague of small States that now afflicts that part of the world.

Count Karolyi heartily endorses this program, which originated three-quarters of a century ago with Louis Kossuth, the great Hungarian patriot. During the Karolyi Administration, which was one of the most brilliant chapters of Hungarian history, the Count strove to take the preliminary steps with a view to bringing about this consolidation of countries. The idea of a "Hungarian Switzerland," as advocated by his Minister of Nationalities, Professor Oscar Jaszi, would have been the nucleus of such a superstate.

In many other respects, also, Count Karolyi's Administration anticipated history. The reforms which he is now

advocating for a Hungary delivered from the present reactionary régime were put into practice under his Government. Universal suffrage, liberal land reform, the unconditional restoration of the right of free speech and of free press are only a few items in the record of the Karolyi Cabinet. "Constitutionalism may be observed in empty forms by a reactionary régime," says Malbone W. Graham, but there is no promise in Hungary of political salvation or economic betterment except through the gradual creation of an educated, moderately liberal middle class of small landowners and peasants. So long as there are landed estates and semi-servile peasants, so long will the feudal landlords rule. The Hungarian revolution is but half consummated; it will not be completed until an emancipated middle class has been trained in the ways of free government and the republican tradition of 1848 is again given full opportunity for free expression and development.

To complete this task Hungary could not have a better statesman than the first President of the Hungarian Republic, whose unforgettable merit it is that he initiated the great work of freeing Hungary from feudalism.



A Month's World History Events in the United States

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor of Government, Harvard University, Chairman of the Board of
Current History Associates

THE Sixty-eighth Congress expired at noon on March 4, 1925, leaving behind it an incomplete record. The appropriation bills of the two years were estimated at \$7,898,000,000, which Republican leaders considered showed an effective attempt at economy. A total of 993 measures was put on the statute books; of these the revised tax law and the Immigration act are the only ones that will be long remembered. Among measures that failed, not so much on their merits as because opposed by a strong minority, were a National Bank bill, a bill for retiring Government employes, the Muscle Shoal bill; and the long pending and much needed bill to codify the Federal Statutes.

The Senate in its brief session from March 4 to March 19 spent most of its time in a long controversy with the President over the appointment of an Attorney General. After the elevation of Harlan F. Stone to the United States Supreme Court, the President sent in the name of Charles B. Warren for the vacancy. When the nomination came up in the Senate, March 17, there was a tie vote, 40 to 40. Vice President Dawes happened to be absent from the Capitol or he could have secured confirmation by casting his vote; while the Vice President was on his way to the Capitol, Senator Overman reversed his vote and defeated the bill. President Coolidge resubmitted Warren's name and the Senate again rejected it on March 16, by a vote of 46 to 40. The President then announced that he would give Warren a recess appointment; but later sent in the name of an old friend and excellent lawyer, John G. Sargent of Vermont, who was unanimously approved March 17.

This defiance of the influence of the President appears to be the reply of ten

or twelve members of the Senate and House, who were read out of the Republican Party and placed low on the list of committees, because of their support of the third party candidate in the last Presidential election. They combined with practically the solid Democratic membership, which gave them a temporary working majority. It remains to be seen how far those two elements will act together in the next Congress.

It was announced unofficially that the President was specially interested in three subjects for future action; tax reform; the acceptance of the World Court by the United States, and a conference on reducing armaments. It was also believed that he would push his idea of bringing about a surplus by economy in the public outlays. It seemed to be understood that no special session of the present Congress would be called.

President Coolidge has selected an estate called White Court, at Swampscott, Mass., a few miles from Boston, as his place of Summer abode. The President agreed to make the Memorial Day address, May 30, at Arlington.

With the appointment on March 17 of John Garibaldi Sargent—the third to hold the office in about a year—as Attorney General, the Cabinet was again complete. Secretary of War Weeks had suffered from a temporary illness but expected to remain in office, at least for the present. Several changes were made in the personnel of the Department of Justice. Solicitor General James M. Beck was to retire and William J. Donovan of New York was to be Assistant to the Attorney General. W. A. Gregg of Texas became Solicitor of the Internal Revenue Bureau of the Treasury Department; and Lincoln C. Andrews, formerly of the United States Army, became Assistant Secretary of the Treas-

ury. The President exercised his authority to make jurisdictional changes within the Federal organization by transferring the Patent Office from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Commerce, with which the Patent Office is more closely connected. Secretary Hoover planned to make an effort to protect American patentees in foreign countries.

Various changes were made also in executive boards. The President nominated Thomas M. Woodlock of New York to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Several Southern Senators objected, on the ground that their section was entitled to the next appointment. The nomination was not confirmed, but the President, on March 25, gave Woodlock a recess appointment; and it was expected that a Southern man would be appointed to the next vacancy. Under a resolution passed by the House of Representatives, the President appointed March 27 a commission on the Muscle Shoals power question, made up as follows: Ex-Representative McKenzie of Illinois, ex-Senator Dial of South Carolina, Professor Harry A. Curtis of Yale University, William McClellan of New York and Russell F. Bower of the American Farm Bureau Federation. While the Senate was in session it confirmed members of a new Board of Tax Appeals. Vice President Dawes, it was stated, intended to follow up his criticism of the present Senate rules by public addresses throughout the country.

FEDERAL JUDICIARY

By the retirement on Jan. 5 of Justice McKenna, the Federal Supreme Court lost an able and experienced judge. Several important cases which bore on Federal or State government came before the Supreme Court. Among these was a suit brought by various Catholic and Protestant Church organizations for the annulment of a recent Oregon school law, which provided that all children from the ages of 8 to 16 must be sent to State public schools. In spite of the protest of Senator Wheeler of Montana, he was indicted

on March 27 by the Grand Jury in the District of Columbia on the charge of using his influence as a Senator to obtain privileges in Government land—the same transaction as that for which he was earlier indicted in the State of Montana.

The most sensational Federal case for a long time was involved in two suits against Doheny, Sinclair, Fall and others connected with the Teapot Dome lease and the use of money to secure the lease. One of these was a civil suit for the cancellation of the lease. The other was a criminal suit for illegally receiving money. When the proceedings began on March 9, with the Government represented by Atlee Pomerene and Owen J. Roberts, some important witnesses could not be found. M. T. Everhardt, son-in-law of Fall, declined to testify on the ground that it might tend to incriminate him, and the Court ruled that the witness was "refusing to give testimony to protect a third party." Admiral Robison, Chief of Navy Engineering, testified that the Teapot Dome lease was concealed "because we wanted to get it done"; but he contended that this was necessary for "national security." On request of the present Navy Department, the Court excluded evidence which would bring out the "grave national emergency" which was supposed to have existed in 1922. Fall himself was not put upon the stand by either side. His counsel insisted that the money which Fall received was a bona fide loan. The case ended March 26 with a clash between opposing counsel on a technical point of the exclusion of evidence.

STATE AND LOCAL

About thirty interstate compacts have at various times been made between two or more States with the approval of Congress. It was proposed by Governor Smith of New York that Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York should unite in a joint control of electrical power and light.

Many evidences testified to the prosperity of the States of the Union. Flor-

ida was in the midst of a terrific land boom, in which orange groves were being transformed to "additions" of real estate. New Jersey was reported to be spending \$20,000,000 a year. A charter of liberties granted by William Penn to the Province of Pennsylvania, which had been in private hands since 1682, was bought by private subscription and presented to the Commonwealth. An uproar was caused in New Hampshire by the widely circulated statement that out of trust funds to the amount of about \$1,500,000, nearly \$750,000 had been taken out of the capital and diverted for various purposes by the State Government.

Massachusetts underwent the experience of a lively political war, in which Republican Governor Fuller was victor over the Republican Legislature. The Governor vetoed certain items and reduced others in the appropriation bills that reached him, on the ground that they did not accord with the budget which it was his constitutional right to prepare. In Texas, it seemed unsuitable to the Legislature that a former impeached Governor of the State should be now the personal confidential adviser of Governor Miriam A. Ferguson, wife of the former Governor; both houses of the Legislature, therefore, passed a bill deciding that the judgment of impeachment was annulled, which bill was duly signed by the Governor, an unusual reversal of a judicial conviction by a bill of amnesty.

In New York Democratic Governor Smith found himself in conflict with the Republican majority in the Legislature, which was unwilling to give him an opportunity to take responsibility for economies which might add to his prestige as a political leader. By persistence and by appeal to the constituents, the Governor secured a vote favoring the submission to the voters of a proposition for expending \$300,000,000 on the abolition of grade crossings. He also successfully insisted on a reduction of 25 per cent. on the income taxes, and on the submission to vote of an amendment to the Constitution providing for

a consolidation of executive departments. Using his power to veto items in the appropriation bill, he announced that he would eliminate appropriations voted by his opponents in order to absorb the surplus and prevent tax reduction. All his executive appointees were confirmed. On the other hand, a number of measures which he strongly supported were lost, including the 48-hour week for women and an executive budget.

In New York City the various problems of transportation remained unsettled. Mayor Hylan opposed every effort to secure rapid transit which would not give to the New York City Government the sole power of decision and control; and Controller Craig and the Mayor continued to be at cross purposes. Mayor Hylan issued a summary of "some things this Administration has done for New York"—more schools, better police, purer water, improved health conditions—"major crimes reduced 33 per cent."; terminal markets, piers, a tunnel under the Narrows; "a new subway system begun"; "the 5-cent car fare retained." This controversy, it was obvious, would continue until the nominations for the next Mayoralty election.

In the Philippines the arrest of about 1,000 members of a revolutionary society was reported. Of these 100 were held on a charge of sedition. Serious charges were made to the effect that many Indians, both reservation and non-tribal, were being neglected and plundered by whites. It was said that the health conditions on Indian reservations were very bad and that diseases like trachoma and tuberculosis were widely prevalent.

PUBLIC FINANCE

Though the President was standing by his policy of economy and seemed to be carrying the country with him, and though Federal taxes had been considerably reduced, State and local taxes continued to rise until in some places the tax rate was 5 per cent. of the assessed valuation. Statistics showed that

nearly \$80,000,000 was actually collected in taxes on motor gasoline last year. Secretary Mellon, in a public address delivered on March 17, held that the time had come for "apportionment in the fields of tax sources between Federal and State Governments."

A recent calculation showed that every \$100 of the national expenditures was distributed as follows:

Legislative departments.....	\$.40
Executive department.....	.10
Independent offices.....	13.40
Department of Agriculture.....	4.20
Department of Commerce.....	.70
Department of the Interior.....	9.00
Department of Justice.....	.60
Department of Labor.....	.20
Navy Department.....	9.50
Treasury Department.....	8.10
Department of War.....	10.10
Panama Canal maintenance and operation .....	.20
District of Columbia.....	.70
Subscription to capital stock Federal intermediate credit banks.....	.30
Interest on public debt.....	28.20
Premium on public debt.....	.10
Public debt retirement.....	13.50

Total.....\$100.00

Of the total about 52 per cent. is used to cover the expense of national defense and past wars.

A lively discussion was conducted over allowances and refunds to corporations and individuals paying heavy taxes. Senator Couzens of Michigan, Chairman of a special Senate committee on this subject, asserted that the Anaconda Copper Company had received concessions to the amount of \$50,000,000; and that claims for over \$800,000,000 had been made for past and now pending remission of corporation taxes, both of the war and post war periods. In the meantime Senator Couzens himself was assessed with an additional tax of \$11,000,000 on the claim that he did not return the value of certain Ford automobile stock in 1919. On most of these cases Secretary Mellon insisted that the decisions of the Treasury were proper. The gross public debt of the United States as reported Feb. 28, 1925,

was \$20,980,604,712, as against the peak of \$26,596,701,648 in 1921. All these calculations excluded the debts due by European nations and the accrued interest thereon.

BUSINESS AND BUSINESS ORGANIZATION

The various official and private estimates of production and distribution showed steady prosperity, particularly in the Middle and Far West. Wheat, after advancing to over \$2 a bushel, dropped again to near \$1.50; this did not much affect the farmers, since most of them had parted with their holdings. Secretary Jardine of the Department of Agriculture said of the farmer that "he wants his business to have an equal opportunity with other businesses." Like President Coolidge, the Secretary favored cooperative farmers' associations. He saw no remedy in reducing the amount of crops produced, but urged more intensive and scientific farming. That the farmer had made some profit was shown by an official estimate of the total money value of the crops of 1924 at about \$12,500,000,000. In this total, cereals counted something less than half, corn one-fourth, and cotton and foreign crops each about a seventh.

Great efforts were being made to interest the people of the United States in scientific forestry, and President Coolidge has proclaimed the days from April 27 to May 3 as "American Forest Week." An interesting development in cotton was the disappearance of the sea island cotton since the boll weevil reached the Atlantic Coast. Long staple cotton, however, is grown in other parts of the South and Southwest.

Manufactures showed an enormous output during the last year. The United States in 1924 was still making more than one-half the total steel product of the world, yet Charles M. Schwab, Chairman of the Board of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, on his return from overseas announced that he intended to spend enormous sums in "modernizing" his plants, which a few years ago were supposed to be the most scientific and productive in the world.

The power of the Federal Trade Commission was much reduced by a decision of the Supreme Court on March 16 to the effect that the commission had no legal power to examine the books of a firm in order to discover facts when there was no reason to suppose that the law had been violated. The Federal Reserve Bank reported its usual enormous figures of transactions and resources—gold to the amount of \$3,000,000,000; United States Government securities, \$200,000,000; outstanding notes, \$2,000,000,000; total resources, \$5,200,000,000. Among the large corporations the most interesting item was the statement that the assets of the Ford Company were about \$650,000,000. The property and good-will of the Dodge Motor Company was sold for \$175,000,000. Over 2,000 new corporations were formed in New York in March. Record sales were reported by the Standard Oil Company and by the American Tobacco Company. There seemed no abatement in the growth and prosperity of corporations.

In an address before the National Cotton Manufacturers' Association, on April 6, President Coolidge spoke at length on American business, beginning with the textiles, thence proceeding to mass production and the consequent low costs. He recognized the advantage of "the practice of absolute free trade throughout a great continental area of forty-eight States, besides other possessions." He stressed the policy of the United States (enforced by the constitutional clause against export taxes) of allowing foreigners to buy our raw and finished products on the same terms as to our own citizens. He commented on the foreign systems of "export taxes, export bounties, valorization projects, discriminatory taxation and the like." He further recognized the existence of "a twilight zone, in which the proper standard of action is as yet undetermined by government."

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

Railroad construction today goes little further than to build branch roads and

short lines. The only State which insists on new lines of considerable length is Oregon, which calls for about 400 miles of new railroad, no part of which is likely to be self-sustaining. In New England the railroads were beginning to fight parallel bus lines. The Interstate Commerce Commission began a general inquiry into railroad rates as applied to farm products.

One of the great Western lines, the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway, with a line to the Pacific, went to the wall, with a drop in value of stocks and bonds of about \$500,000,000. On the other hand, the Baltimore & Ohio was placing refunding bonds to the amount of \$150,000,000 at about par; and Henry Ford's Detroit, Toledo & Ironton Railroad had increased in value from about \$5,000,000 to \$10,000,000 in the five years of his ownership. The New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad recently placed a loan of \$25,000,000, chiefly among the people in the cities and towns which the railroad served. The Gould system of roads, which once included 12,000 miles of lines reaching from Baltimore to San Francisco, figured in a deal by which this system passed entirely out of the hands of the Gould family.

There seemed no end to the public money available for "hard roads." Over 6,000 miles were constructed in the United States in a twelvemonth. Over nine-tenths of the Lincoln Highway from coast to coast was recently completed.

The Fleet Corporation, under Leigh C. Palmer, hoped to reduce the annual deficit on the Government ownership from \$50,000,000 to \$36,000,000. The Shipping Board sold to the R. Stanley Dollar Company, for \$3,850,000, the five round-the-world ships operated by that company; but the Pacific Mail Steamship Company called on the courts to stop the transfer. By decision of the Shipping Board, on March 24, the differentials on ocean rates in favor of North Atlantic and Gulf ports were abolished, thus giving new opportunities to these ports.

LABOR AND IMMIGRATION

A striking evidence of the prosperity of some labor organizations is the success of labor banks established, especially by railroad unions. Large numbers of employes were said to be buying stock in State corporations such as the International Harvester Company, the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company and the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. The annual movement of negro laborers from South to North was again reported on a large scale. There were few important strikes; an outstanding development in this field was the successful strike of 30,000 dressmakers in New York on March 11.

According to recent returns, most of the countries from which specific numbers of immigrants are allowed will fill their quotas at the end of the fiscal year, July 1, 1925. "Immigrant bootlegging" continued, especially from Mexico and from Cuba, where an organized system with regular tariffs for landing Chinese and Europeans within the boundaries of the United States was uncovered. Mrs. Hannah Chaplin, mother of the famous comedian, was allowed by the Secretary of Labor to extend her stay in the United States.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Several shifts were recently made in the personnel of the State Department and of American representatives abroad. Jacob Gould Schurman was transferred from China to Germany, a change which raised his rank from Minister to Ambassador; Peter Augustus Jay was to go to Argentina, Hugh Grant-Smith to Uruguay, George L. Kreeck to Paraguay, Charles C. Eberhardt to Nicaragua. Alexander P. Moore was expected to retire from the embassy in Spain. New representatives came to Washington from foreign countries, among them Baron von Maltzan from Germany, Tsuneo Matsudaira from Japan, Giacomo de Martino from Italy, Emile Daeschner from France.

After twenty-one years of effort and in the face of a filibuster by Senator

Copeland of New York, the treaty with Cuba confirming its title to the Isle of Pines was ratified by a vote of 63 to 14 on March 13. Nineteen other treaties were ratified on March 20, including treaties on smuggling liquor with Panama, France and Holland. The only remaining treaty before the Senate, that with Turkey, was held over because it was clear that a two-thirds majority could not be obtained.

Thousands of Catholic Americans have made or will make the pilgrimage to Rome. Five hundred from Boston were recently received with special affection by the Holy Father, who welcomed them to "the shrines which make this not only the Eternal City but the Holy City."

In several directions the United States has reached out toward other countries of the world. Before adjourning on March 4 the House of Representatives, by a decisive vote, expressed its opinion that the United States ought to participate in the World Court for International Justice. The only action that could be obtained from the Senate in the special session was the decision to make the World Court a special order of business for Dec. 17, 1925. The United States was expected to take part in the approaching conference at Geneva on the manufacture and sale of arms. It was also announced March 14 that President Coolidge was interested in a parley on disarmament, and might call one soon, but that this parley would not include land forces. On March 25 the President called into conference Senator Borah, who agreed that formal invitations might soon be sent out.

LAW AND ORDER

The appointment of E. D. White as Superintendent of Federal Prisons was taken to mean that a searching investigation not only of the prisons at Atlanta and Leavenworth, but of the numerous State and county prisons in which Leavenworth prisoners are confined, would be conducted by the Government.

Various investigations showed that bootlegging was still continuing.

Mexico and Central America

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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THE aims of the present Government of Mexico are indicated in the following significant passage from a speech made by President Calles to a group of United States excursionists. This utterance, as published in *El Excelsior* on March 20, was as follows:

We are trying to make the peasants economically independent, so that these poor men who have been in the condition of slaves until now may become free and enjoy a little more of the happiness which rightfully belongs to them. That is why we are trying to elevate them morally by means of schools; that is why we want them to have a piece of land to satisfy their most pressing needs, and why we believe that by raising the status of these workmen, we will form a greater Fatherland, able to cooperate with the other peoples of the earth and pursue the well-being of humanity.

An outstanding event of the month of March was a strike of all employees of the Mexico City electric railway system, a company controlled by British and Canadian capital. In 1924 this system carried nearly 50,000,000 passengers, an average of 265,000 passengers daily. The employees demanded recognition of their union and collective negotiation with its representatives. The company peremptorily refused these demands. The strike began on March 1. At the end of the second week President Calles intervened in the strike. He called attention to Article 123 of the Mexican Constitution, which guarantees to employees the right to organize unions. He advised the company that it was under an imperative obligation to obey the laws of Mexico, and warned that "if, within the term of three days, the company does not comply with the constitutional obligation referred to," he would dictate and execute the measures which he might deem best. Within the time limit fixed by the President the

strike ended in favor of the union. No violence was reported during the continuance of the strike but great inconvenience was occasioned by it.

A Government announcement of economic interest was the declaration on April 8 that the Mexican National Railways would be returned to their original owners by Presidential decree in July. Preliminary to such action a general Federal investigation of the railroads was completed.

When opposition to the Government's determination to federalize railway employees developed among the workers President Calles took a firm stand in support of the Government's policy. The employees were given until March 25 to take the Federal oath or else be considered dismissed from the railway service. The men objected to taking the oath because they considered this equivalent to a renunciation of the labor contracts which they had made with the National Railways and because it deprived them of the right to strike. On March 15 President Calles stated:

Rumors of a proposed railway strike do not intimidate the Government. We will place the railways under just orders and nothing will stop us. Railway men must accept the new order. They will not lose their places. They will not remain members of the union, but will be considered Federal employees. The Government purposes to readjust the railways, running them a short time economically, giving them economic stability, then returning them to the company.

In an open letter to the Confederation of Railway Employees on March 24, President Calles reiterated the determination of the Government to federalize the railway service. On the same day it was announced that the new regulations with respect to labor contracts of the National Railway Lines would go into effect on April 1.

According to statistics of the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor there were 138 strikes in Mexico during 1924. These strikes caused a loss to the workers of \$1,805,191.88, and a loss to the companies of \$4,627,384.57, making a total of \$6,432,576.45. The number of individuals who took part in the strikes was 33,985.

Marked improvement in the financial condition of the Mexican Government with 18,000,000 pesos held in Treasury paper was indicated by a report published in *El Excelsior* of Mexico City on March 29. Early in March the petroleum companies agreed to an additional tax of one cent per gallon on gasoline. The funds thus raised were to be used for road building. It was estimated that the tax would produce 8,000 pesos daily. For the purpose of harbor improvement a recent Presidential decree directed that a moderate "bar tax" should be collected upon all petroleum exported from Mexico.

Joaquín Santaella, Chief of the Division of Special Taxes of the Treasury Department and Petroleum Adviser to the Secretary of the Treasury, in a statement recently issued stated that the total investment of the foreign petroleum companies in Mexico amounted to \$350,000,000 and that they had taken out 1,200,000,000 barrels of petroleum. Señor Santaella estimated that the petroleum companies had realized a profit of \$100,000,000.

United States Ambassador Sheffield announced on March 14 that the Mexican Foreign Office had agreed to a treaty with the United States to suppress drug smuggling between the two countries. The proposed treaty, which had been practically completed, save for details, provided for the appointment of Commissioners from both countries. The Commissioners were to meet at El Paso, Texas, on May 30 for the study of a supplementary treaty which would provide both Governments with ample facilities for suppressing the drug trade and for eliminating the smuggling of liquor into the United States.

In reply to an informal inquiry of

United States Ambassador Sheffield as to the attitude of the Mexican Government with respect to its participation in the forthcoming conference on traffic in arms and ammunition, the Mexican Foreign Office late in March declined to participate in the conference for two reasons. The first reason given was "the exclusion that the League unjustly made of Mexico when it issued the invitations." The second assigned reason was Mexico's belief that "she must always be free, completely and absolutely, from all business of the League of Nations."

From Chihuahua and various other places in Mexico it was reported during March that despite the earnest preaching of the priests of the Roman Catholic Church against a division of the faith, the Separatist movement, represented by the newly organized Mexican Catholic Apostolic Church, was gaining momentum. Disorders growing out of the schism in the Church were reported from Guadalajara, Aguascalientes, and Queretaro. In rendering a decision on the conflict created by the seizure of Soledad Church in Mexico City by followers of the Mexican Catholic Apostolic Church and the forcible ejection of the orthodox Catholic priest therefrom, President Calles on March 14 declared that the Separatist Catholics had violated the Constitution in seizing national property entrusted to the keeping of the orthodox Catholics. The latter, however, were declared by the President to be in open rebellion against the Government, "despising the authorities through their most prominent spokesman." The President ordered Soledad Church closed to worship. Mexican Consul Vasques, at Brownsville, Texas, on March 19, made public a proclamation issued by President Calles which banned foreign Catholic priests from preaching in Catholic churches in Mexico. Following religious disorders at Aguascalientes, the Government on March 31 closed the Church of San Marcos there; the church had been the scene of violent fighting. The Permanent Commission of Congress early in March called the

attention of the various State Governments to the Constitutional inhibitions against the exercise of religious functions of ministers of religious cults unless they were Mexicans by birth, and to the provision which limited the number of parishioners of one priest or minister to 1,000 persons. The Governors were requested to take prompt action to enforce these provisions of the Constitution.

In consequence of the quintuple increase in license fees, 160 saloons in Vera Cruz had closed by March 15. The number still in operation at that time was 250.

Expeditions engaged in archaeological excavations in Mexico announced important discoveries during March. The expedition conducting excavations at Chichen-Itzá in Yucatan for the Carnegie Institution of Washington announced in mid-March the discovery of a brilliantly painted sacrificial altar of the Maya Indians. This altar is supported by more than a score of handsomely sculptured human figures. An expedition of the Department of Middle American Research of Tulane University of New Orleans announced late in March the discovery of a sacred island containing ruins of the Maya civilization in Lake Catemacoll, State of Vera Cruz.

Honduras

THE Honduran National Congress on Feb. 27 ratified the following conventions, which were adopted at the Conference on Central American Affairs in Washington in 1923:

1. Convention for the establishment of an International Central American Tribunal, with Annexes A and B and Protocol. This Convention was rejected by El Salvador, but having been ratified by three Governments, namely, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Honduras, it now goes into effect.

2. Convention for the Limitation of Armaments. Honduras was the last of the five Central American Republics participating in the Washington Conference to ratify this Convention.

3. Convention for the Establishment of International Commissions of Inquiry. This Con-

vention has now been ratified by the United States, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Honduras.

Señor Don Luis Bogran, newly appointed Minister of Honduras to the United States, presented his letters of credence to President Coolidge on March 9.

The Honduran Congress early in April passed a bill suppressing the payment by Honduras of dues to the League of Nations.

Panama

A PRESIDENTIAL decree of March 14 declared Richard O. Marsh, an explorer of Brockport, N. Y., expelled from Panamá and prohibited his return. It was asserted in the decree that there was proof that Marsh had abused Panamá's hospitality and a recent permit granted him to carry on scientific researches, by aiding the San Blas Indians in their recent attempt to establish their own republic.

Cuba

THE United States Senate on March 13, by a vote of 63 to 14, ratified the Isle of Pines treaty, which had been pending before that body for twenty years. The treaty relinquished in favor of Cuba all claim of title to the island by the United States arising out of the Spanish-American War. The ratification of the treaty created a most favorable effect in Cuba and throughout Latin America. In Washington, Cuban Ambassador Cosme de la Torriente called at the White House to convey officially the appreciation of the Cuban Government. Ratifications of the treaty were exchanged at Washington on March 23 by Secretary of State Kellogg and the Cuban Ambassador. Prior to the exchange of ratifications, the reservation and understanding adopted by the Senate of the United States in its resolution advising ratification of the treaty were accepted by the High Contracting Parties through an exchange of notes.

Demonstrations, which were held to show Cuban gratitude to the United

States for the Congressional ratification of the Isle of Pines treaty, aroused the resentment of Cuban students; numerous riots occurred, notably one in Havana on March 21, in which several were hurt. The students opposed the expressions of gratitude as "showing a servile spirit."

Nicaragua

THE defeat by the Nicaraguan Senate in the latter part of March of a proposed loan of \$500,000 to be made by a syndicate of New York bankers to the Nicaraguan Government for the purpose of increasing the capital stock of the National Bank, and criticism of the Government in connection with its negotiations for the loan, were followed by the resignation of the Cabinet on March 25. A run on the bank by depositors was stopped by a Presidential announcement that in case the American manager and directors of the bank resigned, as they had threatened on March 23, in case the loan was rejected, the American Collector General of Customs would be appointed manager of the bank.

The new Cabinet named by President Solorzano was as follows:

Ex-President MARTINEZ—Interior.
JOSE ANDRES URTECHO—Foreign Affairs.
General MONTEALEGRE—War.
SALVADOR CASTILLO—Public Works.
LEONARDO ARQUELLO—Public Instruction.
ALBINO ROMAN REYES—Finance.

Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks, American economist, who had been engaged upon an economic investigation of conditions in Nicaragua, completed his task

early in April; he sailed on April 8 for New York.

Haiti

IN his third annual report to the United States Secretary of State, made public on March 6, Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, High Commissioner to Haiti, said in part:

The state of peace which the country has enjoyed since the American intervention, and especially in the last three years, has continued undisturbed throughout the year with the result that the Haitian feeling of security has been fortified. This is most favorable for the development of agriculture. * * * The sound financial condition of the Haitian State, together with the decided improvement in the economic condition of the country * * * assure rapid progress toward stabilized government and the happiness and prosperity of the Haitian people. A situation in Haitian affairs as excellent as that set forth in this report could have been arrived at only with the entire cooperation of the Haitian Government, working under the enlightened and distinguished leadership of President Borno.

The following analysis of conditions in Haiti was contained in the February number of *The Monthly Bulletin*, published by the office of the Financial Adviser—General Receiver of the Republic of Haiti:

In connection with the school program, new structures are being provided this year for about 3,500 students. * * * The number of students provided for in the new schools erected last year was 900, and it is believed that school construction in 1924 was greater than for many years previous. * * * Through a gradual extension of dispensaries and rural clinics it is expected that it will eventually be possible to bring medical assistance to all the remote parts of the Republic. * * * Plans are being made for holding agricultural fairs in all the main towns of the Republic as well as in the farm schools and some other rural communities.

South America

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

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INTEREST in South America during the past month has centred on the settlement of the Tacna-Arica controversy, regarding which President Coolidge as arbitrator, announced his decision March 9. Chile received the award with rejoicing; Peru voiced opposition at once.

The decision, set forth in some 22,000 words, maintained that the principal question raised was whether the Treaty of Peace of 1883 (Treaty of Ancon) between Chile and Peru was still in force. President Coolidge decided that it continued in effect, and therefore all its provisions, including that calling for a plebiscite in Tacna and Arica, must be carried out. Conditions for the plebiscite provide that all persons over 21 who have resided in the provinces since two years before the protocol of arbitration was signed (June 20, 1922), are entitled to vote, except those who during that period have served in the military or police forces, or in the political, judicial or fiscal forces of either country. All persons born in Tacna or Arica, irrespective of present residence, are eligible to vote.

The plebiscite is to be supervised by a commission of three members, one appointed by Chile, one by Peru, and the third, who is to act as its head, by the President of the United States. They must be appointed within four months, and within six months must hold their first meeting in Arica. General John J. Pershing was formally designated on March 23 by President Coolidge as Presidency of the commission.

Rumors in the press of the United States during the last week of March attributed to Peru's expected demurrer to President Coolidge's award a spirit which the actual document, when handed to the State Department by the Peruvian Embassy April 2, "proved not to possess. It bore no characteristic of an ultimatum or a demand, and was much milder in tone than was generally

anticipated. The communication addressed to President Coolidge, as arbitrator, was called merely a "memorial" intended to make "some observations on the award." President Coolidge's reply to the Peruvian note was delivered to the Peruvian Ambassador at Washington on April 9; the President's answer was a general denial of Peru's contentions that the award was unfair; the arbitrator also declined to comply with Peru's request that American troops police the disputed territory.

The determination of the nationality of the two provinces by a plebiscite still leaves a boundary settlement to be effected in the northern section of the disputed area. President Coolidge on March 27 appointed General Jay J. Morrow, former Governor of the Canal Zone, as American member of the boundary commission which will handle this phase of the award. General Morrow resigned last October as Governor of the Canal Zone after eight years' experience as engineer in charge of maintenance in that area.

Secretary of State Kellogg was elected on April 1 Chairman of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union to fill the unexpired term of Charles E. Hughes, who relinquished the post when he resigned as Secretary of State. The election was unanimous.

Dr. Baltasar Brum, former President of Uruguay, presented (April 1) to the Congress of Christian Work held in Montevideo an outline of his plan for a Pan-American League of Nations. The same plan was presented by him at the Fifth Pan-American Conference in Santiago in the Spring of 1923, but the conference failed to act upon it. Dr. Brum contended that such a league would not conflict with the Monroe Doctrine, and that the United States would not assume any obligations other than those already assumed by maintaining the Doctrine. "The United States alone can keep the world at peace," he declared. In the

course of his address Dr. Brum announced that the women of his country would have the right to vote within a year. He maintained that the suffrage bill now before the Legislature is certain of enactment, thus making Uruguay the second nation on the American Continent to give women equal political rights with men.

Argentina

ARGENTINA'S final official trade figures for 1924 show exports amounting to 1,011,394,000 gold pesos (a peso equals \$0.965), an increase of 31 per cent. over 1923, and imports of 828,700,000 gold pesos, a decrease of 4 per cent. as compared with the preceding year. The total volume of foreign trade in 1924 was 14,400,000 tons, an increase of 31 per cent. over 1923.

President de Alvear sent a bill to Congress proposing an issue of new currency amounting to 1,388,142,000 paper pesos to replace the present paper currency, estimated at that figure. The notes now in circulation must be withdrawn within two years of the final sanction of the measure.

The Argentine Ministry of Agriculture recently received a report from G. F. Moznette, an entomologist from the United States Federal Horticultural Board, stating that he was unable to discover the existence of the Mediterranean fruit fly in Argentine fruit; consequently there was no immediate danger of the United States placing an embargo on the growing fruit export trade with the United States. Mr. Moznette advised that unless Argentina placed an embargo on various fruits imported from countries where the pest prevails, including oranges from Brazil, Spain and Italy, there was danger of the fly becoming established, in which case the United States would of necessity place an embargo on Argentine fruits.

A tornado visited the province of Santa Fé on March 26, resulting in considerable damage to property and loss of life. A relief train was sent from

Rosario to Classon and San Jinaro, the principal cities in the stricken area.

The life work of Drs. Luis Lancelotti and Francisco Janregui, in their research and experiments with llamas for the cure of syphilis in human beings, recently received recognition from the French Academy of Medicine. A report submitted by Dr. Doleris, a member of the academy, declares that the successful experiments conducted by these investigators with llamas, especially the proven fact that immunity for seven years had been established after an apparent cure of the disease, were of extreme importance. Encouraging results had been obtained with human beings. Of twenty cases treated with their serum hypodermically, the six whose progress it had been possible to observe had remained cured, although it was obviously necessary to allow time to be sure.

Brazil

THE Brazilian industrial crisis was reported to be becoming more serious. Factories in the Sao Paulo district, which normally produces goods to the value of \$115,000,000 a year, restricted operation to eighteen hours per week, one-third of the regular working period. Shortage of power furnished by hydraulic turbines threatened to paralyze industry. Firms in the district were endeavoring to avoid heavy losses by installing every possible means of generating power in the individual plant. The situation was expected to be worse with the coming of the dry season in July. A San Francisco firm received a "rush" contract to build two turbines of 40,000 horsepower each for the city of Sao Paulo. These are said to be the largest in the world except the units at Niagara Falls. A new power station on a hitherto unused river is being built at a cost of \$2,500,000. This will carry the city through future droughts and care for the growing needs for light and power.

Port congestion at Santos showed some improvement during the month of March, though the situation still re-

mained serious. The principal commercial journal of Rio de Janeiro began an editorial campaign to "expose the gravity of the shipping congestion at Santos." It maintained that it was no longer possible to "conceal the crisis which is damaging Brazilian commerce." Investigation by this paper showed that on March 28 there were forty-three vessels discharging cargoes at the wharves and the same number awaiting berths. As an example of the delay in unloading, the case of an American liner was cited. This vessel with 2,000 tons of freight aboard had not been able to dock for forty days. Freight to the amount of 116,000 tons was said to be on board ships at anchor in the harbor, 43,000 tons of this freight being coal. This coal was badly needed for power in Sao Paulo because of the shortage of electric power there.

President Bernardes on March 14 announced through the Minister of Agriculture that the restrictions on immigration into Brazil would soon be removed. These restrictions, in force since December, 1924, stopped all colonization by reducing immigrants to a limited number of ungrouped individuals. Japan took umbrage recently when 600 Japanese emigrants to Brazil were refused visas for their passports by the Brazilian Consul in Tokio. President Bernardes, in his statement above, made it clear that the Brazilian Government had no intention of excluding any nationality and that all immigrants who passed the regular tests would be welcome as soon as the restrictions were removed.

The Brazilian Government affords aid to students who study abroad in agriculture, industry and art. The Department of Agriculture and the Department of Industry and Commerce each selects thirty students yearly for foreign study. A recent report showed that a total of 130 students had been sent out by the agricultural branch, 81 of whom chose to study in the United States. The majority of these studied at Southern University, Baton Rouge, La., because of the opportunity there afforded to

study the sugar cane industry. Financial support is given for two years and steamer passage is paid both ways. A number of these students stated a preference for study in Europe because of the high cost of living in the United States.

Chile

PRESIDENT ALESSANDRI returned to Chile on March 20, after an enforced absence from the country of more than six months. He at once resumed the Presidency, which he relinquished when his Government was overthrown on Sept. 6, 1924. A national holiday was declared upon his return. Public and private buildings were bedecked with flags and a crowd estimated at 200,000 gathered along Alessandri Avenue to witness the triumphal return of the Chief Executive. The army, navy and air force joined in a military display. A special mission from Chile, headed by the Foreign Minister, met Señor Alessandri upon his arrival in Montevideo, Uruguay. Several political exiles, banished from Chile by the Junta Gobierno, which recalled President Alessandri from Europe, were placed aboard the steamer Aconcagua March 15. These included former Senator Ladislao Errázuriz, candidate of the Unionist Party for President of Chile; the former Deputies Ismael Edwards, Emilio Pizzoni and Roberto Hunesus, and the retired General Carlos Harms. All those deported were landed in Ecuador except the first two, who reached New York April 4, on their way to Europe.

Political affairs, and consequently commercial conditions, became more settled after the resumption of normal governmental functions. Chile was well satisfied with the Tacna-Arica award and with the appointment of General Pershing as President of the Plebiscite Commission. Señor Augustin Edwards, former Minister to London and once President of the League of Nations, has been appointed the Chilean representative to serve with General Pershing. Diplomatic relations between Chile and

Mexico, broken off after the coup d'état in the former country in September, 1924, were recently resumed with the appointment of General Eduardo Hay as Chilean Minister to Mexico.

Gabriela Mistral, a Chilean poetess whose work is known throughout the Spanish-speaking world, has been awarded by her Government a pension amounting to \$4,380 annually.

Peru

PRESIDENT LEGUIA'S message to President Coolidge (March 16) expressing thanks to the American Executive for his efforts in arbitrating the dispute over possession of Tacna and Arica is quoted in part on other pages of this magazine. The full text is worth quoting:

Notwithstanding my judgment that your Excellency's award has undeservedly approved the moral position of the Republic of Chile, undoubtedly guilty for more than forty years of untold persecutions and crimes against Peruvian citizens from Tacna and Arica, I unreservedly express to your Excellency my sincere thanks for the high responsibility so disinterestedly assumed to restore at last, under the predominance of justice, the peace and quietness in this part of the Western Hemisphere that, owing to Chile, has lived for nearly half a century on the verge of war.

The populace in the capital indicated dissatisfaction with the award by a general strike which took effect at midnight of the day on which the decision was announced (March 9th). On the following day vehicular traffic ceased in Lima, and many shops and factories were closed that day. No newspapers were published. Dispatches stated that the people "discontented with the decision, calmly but feelingly rejected it." The Department of Foreign Affairs issued a public call, March 28, to all the natives of Tacna-Arica to register in the proper department promptly, in preparation for the proposed plebiscite.

March proved a disastrous month in Peru for agriculture and industry. Continuous rains and heavy floods caused damages estimated at \$20,000,000. Trujillo, a coastal city founded by Pizarro

in 1535, was largely destroyed by inundations (March 18) caused by torrential rains. With a population of 11,000, Trujillo was the third city in the republic. Many other coastal cities were so damaged that their activity was limited to purchasing bare necessities. Railway lines were washed out in many sections. The Central Railroad was out of service during all of March and it was estimated that from four to six months would be required to repair all damages. The cost of living rose materially in Lima, as the city is dependent on the Central Railroad for all supplies of fresh vegetables and other foodstuffs. The city's electric power plant was damaged to such an extent by the floods that operations in all industries depending upon it for power were curtailed to a few hours per day. Sugar and cotton planters lost heavily and many small planters were financially ruined. Railroad bridges, farm buildings and roads for miles along the coastal region in central and southern Peru were washed away.

Uruguay

TWO Ministerial additions to the Uruguayan Government were announced during the month under review. Senor Don Rufino T. Domingues accepted the post of Minister of the Interior, and General Segundo Bazzano that of Minister of War and Marine.

Mr. Hoffman Philip of New York, who had been American Minister to Uruguay since 1922, was named American Minister to Persia. Mr. Philip was appointed Minister to Colombia in 1917, but had had long diplomatic experience in the Near East previous to holding his South American posts.

The Government of Uruguay has already begun to make arrangements for the reception of the Prince of Wales, who planned to arrive in Montevideo on Aug. 7.

Delegates to the Congress on Christian Work in South America, held in Montevideo from March 29 to April 8, received an enthusiastic welcome from officials of the Government at the opening session of the Congress.

The British Empire

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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PRIME MINISTER BALDWIN, in the first of three speeches appealing to British employers of labor unions to lay aside strife, suspicion and mutual fear, and cooperate for the welfare of the nation, used these significant words at Birmingham on March 4:

Human hands were given us to clasp, and not to be raised against one another in fratricidal strife. * * * We are witnessing in England signs of an industrial storm gathering which, if it were to break, would spread misery far and wide and sweep back possibly for years all chance of returning and reviving prosperity.

If the great trade unions of this country, such as the miners, transport workers, and railway men, unite on a policy of trying to enforce higher wages in their own trades by means of a strike, they may hold up many industries and do them irreparable harm. Suspicion must be removed. Organizations of employers and men, if they take off their coats to it, are far more able to work out solutions of their troubles than are the politicians.

The response to his appeal was immediate and remarkable. In the Commons on March 5 the Trades Union Levy bill, the passage of which he opposed as being provocative to labor, was easily defeated. Outside Parliament the more radical labor leaders seemed reluctant to abandon preparations for a great struggle between capital and labor. Their chief spokesman, Arthur J. Cook, Secretary of the Miners' Federation, declared on March 21 that before the year was out the miners were going to have the fight of their lives to keep what they have got. J. H. Thomas, Secretary of the National Railwaymen's Union, and Colonial Secretary in the MacDonald Ministry, had difficulty in obtaining a hearing at a railwaymen's meeting in Glasgow on March 22, when he attempted to explain the futility of organized laborers attempting at the present time "a mass attack upon the industrial position." With more than a million and a quarter British workmen receiving unemployment doles,

with shipbuilding contracts being taken away from British shipbuilders by foreign firms, with the engineering trades in serious straits, and with the coal industry in the midst of the worst slump for years, the Prime Minister's declaration that only cooperation between labor and capital can save Great Britain from economic disaster was regarded by large sections of the nation as a warning which must be heeded.

In one of the most serious industrial disputes, that between the Miners' Federation and the owners, it was agreed to institute a far-reaching inquiry to cover the whole economic position in this industry. In the engineering wage dispute, on the other hand, a joint conference between employers and the employes broke down, and the men's negotiating committee referred the whole matter back to their union.

A part of the cost and extent of unemployment in England was set forth in official figures as follows: 1920-21 approximately 1,130,000 unemployed, receiving payments of approximately £34,000,000; 1921-22, 1,750,000 unemployed receiving amounts of £52,850,000; 1922-23, 1,360,000 unemployed receiving £41,680,000; 1923-24, 1,203,000 unemployed receiving £35,971,000. The number of the unemployed is the average for the year indicated.

The navy estimates for 1925-26, amounting to £60,500,000, an increase over the current year of £4,700,000, were discussed in the House of Commons. The personnel of the fleet for the year 1925-26 was fixed at 102,075, an increase of 2,175. The program provided for no new construction, but appropriations were made for the completion of cruisers, battle ships, destroyers and submarines already laid down.

A warning to foreign nations that future British Labor governments might not consider binding any secret treaties which might be entered into by the

present administration was issued in the Commons on March 11 by C. P. Trevelyan, Minister of Education in the MacDonald Government. Mr. Trevelyan offered a motion providing for Parliamentary control over all diplomatic instruments, arrangements or understandings. He declared that if the Government did not accept his motion the next Labor government would by statute transfer the royal treaty making power to Parliament. Ronald McNeil, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in reply, declared that there were no secret British treaties today.

The British Labor Party authorized its executive to investigate and report upon party discipline and unity. This action grew out of the challenge by a number of members of the Left Wing of the party of the appropriation of additional funds for the Prince of Wales's tour, which the party as a whole had agreed to support, and the refusal of the same group to abide by a compact made by Ramsay MacDonald, the party leader, for expediting minor business to enable the Government's safeguarding of industries proposals to be debated effectively. In both of these instances the authority of the parliamentary leader of the party was disregarded. The inquiry was intended to check the cleavage between the left and right wings of British labor before it extended far enough to prevent unified action by the Labor Party in Parliament. The Labor Party also found itself in a position of acute difficulty when it attempted to make effective the decision of the last annual conference that Communists should be eliminated from the party. A majority of the members of the party obtained their membership through the affiliation of the trade unions to which they belonged and it was found virtually impossible to ask the trade unions to discover and expel all Communists from their ranks. A committee which was set up to advise on the best method of giving effect to the resolution that members of the Communist Party should not be

eligible for membership in the Labor Party was itself agreed against the question of policy involved.

Ireland

IRISH opinion in both North and South was indicated by the results of the general election in Northern Ireland and the "miniature general election" for nine vacant seats in the Free State Legislature. The first Ulster Parliament was dissolved on March 14 and the election was set for April 3. The Premier, Sir James Craig, appealed to the people to return his supporters in force in order to express approval of his course in resisting all compromise on the boundary question and to give him a fresh mandate to deal in like manner with the report of the Boundary Commission whenever it should be presented. Joseph Devlin, leader of the twelve Nationalists who were elected to the last Parliament but refused to take their seats, again led the representatives of the Roman Catholic minority in Ulster. The most striking note of his pre-election speeches was an appeal for co-operation among all Irishmen. Further, he declared that if elected he would take his seat in the Northern Parliament, and that he would do all he could to bring the North and the South closer together. Although retaining a solid majority, the Craig Government lost seven seats—three to Independent Unionists in Belfast, three to Labor, which for the first time secured representation, and one to the farmers' or tenants' candidate, in Antrim. Ten Nationalists and two Republicans were returned, including Joseph Devlin and Eamon de Valera, both of whom were unopposed. The strength of parties in the new Legislature is as follows: Unionists, 32; Independent Unionists, 4; Nationalists, 10; Republicans, 2; Laborites, 3; Tenants' Party, 1.

In the South the Free State scored a decisive electoral victory over the Republicans in the elections of March 11. Seven of the nine seats which were con-

tested were won by Government candidates, and although not much more than half the qualified voters went to the polls the outcome was interpreted as evidence that the country was turning definitely away from de Valera and his extremist Republican following.

The Free State Government announced the appointment of a commission to investigate the sale of intoxicating liquor. The terms of reference direct the body "to inquire and report to the Executive Council on the question of whether the existing number of licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquor is in excess of reasonable requirements; in the event of such excess being found to exist, to make recommendations by which an adequate reduction may be made on an equitable basis, and generally to review the state of the law regulating the sale and consumption of intoxicating liquors." The Minister of Justice informed the commission that there are 13,000 premises licensed to sell intoxicants, providing a public house for one out of every 230 persons in the Free State. The proportion in England was declared to be one to 400, and in Scotland one to 695.

Canada

A SURPLUS of revenues over expenditures for the present fiscal year of \$1,823,000 was announced on March 25 in the budget speech of J. R. Robb, acting Minister of Finance of the Dominion of Canada. Total expenditures on all Government services were \$342,177,000, while the estimated receipts for the year were \$344,000,000, a decrease of some \$52,800,000 compared with the previous year.

A statement made to the House of Commons on March 16 showed that \$118,165,686 was added during 1924 to the debt on the Canadian National Railways. The Postmaster General explained to the House that changes were being made in the distribution of mail contracts which would tend to equalize the apportionment of such contracts between the nationally owned road and the Canadian Pacific Railway. A year

ago, he declared, the Canadian Pacific enjoyed a revenue from mail services \$750,000 above that derived from the Canadian National lines from the same source. During the current year the disparity would be reduced to \$350,000. Statistics issued on March 15 by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics showed that up to that date the Canadian Pacific had handled 57 1-2 per cent. of last year's grain crop, most of the balance of the business going to the Canadian National.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King in the House of Commons on March 18 vigorously defended the shipping agreement which the Government had made with Sir William Petersen. The reduction of ocean freight rates was declared to be the sole purpose of the contract, and other steamship lines had been invited to enter into similar agreements. Ultimately the entire question of the proposed subsidy was referred to a special Parliamentary commission for study and report.

A strike involving some 14,000 miners employed in Nova Scotia by the British Empire Steel Corporation brought great hardship in that province during March. The corporation demanded a ten-hour day, while the miners held out for eight hours underground, and upon certain other issues. The Government sought a temporary compromise between the parties to be followed by a full inquiry into the relations between the company and its employees.

Australia

PRIME MINISTER BRUCE of Australia on March 6 reiterated the position of the Commonwealth with reference to the establishment of a naval base at Singapore. Coming directly from a Cabinet meeting, he declared that Australia had agreed to contribute to the construction of such a base. On March 15, after the British Government had indicated its intention to proceed with the Singapore development, Mr. Bruce announced that the Australian Government had definitely abandoned

the Henderson naval base scheme and that there was no intention of establishing any other great base in Australia.

The Parliament of Western Australia defeated a bill which proposed to refer the prohibition question to the people of that State during the coming year, the issue to be decided by majority vote. The existing law requires a three-fifths majority of at least 30 per cent. of the qualified voters in order to make any change in the liquor laws. The amending bill, however, carried two to one in the Legislative Assembly, was thrown out without debate in the Legislative Council.

The Colonial Office in London announced on April 9 the signing of an agreement with the Australian Government whereby 450,000 Britishers are to be sent to Australia in the next ten years. The Commonwealth Government undertakes to raise £34,000,000 (\$170,000,000) for low interest loans to the State Governments to be expended on approved undertakings, and the acquisition and clearing and development of land, which will be broken up into farms. The migrants selected will be assisted in their passage and money be advanced on easy terms for the development of farms, which also may be purchased on the easiest terms.

The Imperial Government, in addition to providing the cost of passage, undertakes to pay the Commonwealth £130,000 (\$650,000) for every £750,000 (\$3,750,000) raised by the Commonwealth.

It was announced in Australia on March 6 that after the end of that month no immigrants from South Europe, other than Italians, would be admitted to Australia unless they possessed £40, and that meanwhile no immigrants would be allowed to land unless possessing £10. It was also stated that arrangements were being made through Great Britain whereby a quota of 100 immigrants per month would be established for Southern European countries, excepting Italy. The Italian Government, it was said, had undertaken to guarantee that none of its na-

tionals would become a charge upon the State.

It was announced on March 13 that the Labor Government of South Australia had decided to ban school celebrations of "Anzac Day" (in memory of the landing of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps at Gallipoli). The Secretary of Education declared that "any dissemination of militarism" would be out of harmony with the spirit of the times.

South Africa

SO far the British Government has taken no steps with reference to the recently announced intention of the Government of South Africa to cancel preferential tariff rates heretofore in force in favor of goods from Great Britain. That the loss of the South African preference would be regarded as a serious development in Great Britain's campaign to stimulate overseas commerce was indicated by the fact that the Federation of British Industries took formal action on the subject by sending a cablegram of courteous protest to Premier Hertzog of South Africa.

General Hertzog on March 12 informed a deputation consisting of several Cape members of Parliament, the Archbishop of Cape Town and others interested in native welfare, that he had decided to accept General Smuts's suggestion to refer the question of the Color Bar bill to a select committee. The suggestion referred to was made during the course of a debate on Feb. 24. The bill sought to enact that in those classes of employment in mines and factories in which a certificate of competency was required such certificates "shall not be granted to natives or Asiatics." General Smuts attacked the bill on the ground that it sought to restrict natives' rights in industry without the slightest prospect of giving them compensation in the shape of land. He declared that the attitude of Indians was: "Do not dishonor us. In practice a distinction must be made, but do not put a stigma upon us in your legislation." Up to the present South Africa had sedulously avoided

this stigma, which the bill proposed in grossest form by coupling natives and Asiatics. Urging the Government to separate the Asiatic question from the color bar, General Smuts said: "We shall gather on our heads the hatred of the whole of Asia. We shall feel the weight of that hatred in the years to come. The bill will be taken as an outrage not only by black Africa but by yellow Asia. We, a handful of whites, are ring-fencing ourselves, first with the near ring of black hatred and beyond that, with the ring of hatred of the whole of Asia, for, while only a few Asiatics are directly affected by the bill the inclusion of their name will win us the hatred of hundreds of millions of Asiatics from the north of Asia to the south."

Anxiety aroused among members of the civil service by indications that the Government intended to press its policy of bi-lingualism to the extreme was increased upon the publication on March 10 of the annual report of the Public Service Commission, disclosing that in three important cases the Government had overridden the recommendations of the commission and appointed to important positions men obviously less fitted for the posts than those nominated by this body. Tielman Roos, Minister of Justice in the Nationalist-Labor Cabinet, had previously declared that in his opinion no person who was not bi-lingual should hold any post in the civil service, and that he, personally, would not recommend any such person for promotion. The policy indicated by these events was generally interpreted as being directed against the English employes of the Government.

India

MOST significant among the political events of the month in India was the issue of a manifesto by the Swarajist leader, C. R. Das, indicating that he was prepared to abandon obstruction and non-cooperation and cautiously feel his way toward cooperation with other Indian and possibly even English groups. Condemning violence, he reversed his

attitude toward the famous Serajgunj resolution which approved the assassination of a British member of the Indian civil service. Publicly he declared: "To the young men of Bengal I say: 'Drop violence, fight clean.' To Europeans and the Government I urge: 'Drop repression, drop your unworthy suspicions of us.'" Privately Das is reported to have decided to win Swaraj for India in honorable partnership with Great Britain in the Empire.

This conciliatory attitude on the part of the radical leader was connected in India with other political developments of the past few months. Important among these were the frequent occasions upon which the Independent native members of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi supported the Government against the Swarajists, the great improvement in the relations between the Indian and the English members of that body, and other indications that purely obstructive Swaraj tactics in the national and provincial Legislatures would fail to accomplish the ruin of the reforms but might discredit the party in the country.

The report of the Reforms Inquiry Committee which sat under the chairmanship of Sir Alexander Muddiman was presented to the British House of Commons on March 16. The document contains two parts, one setting forth the official view of the Government of India and the other that of the Indian Nationalists. The officials would continue the existing system of Indian government, with a few minor alterations, until 1929, the date set by the Government of India act for its own revision. The Nationalists declare that dyarchy has been a complete failure and urge that the entire system be recast immediately so that the elected representatives of the Indian people shall be placed in almost complete control.

In Bengal the Legislative Council again brought dyarchy to an end by refusing on March 23 to vote the salaries for the Indians appointed as Ministers at the head of the transferred departments. The result was that the Government reassumed control of the so-called nation-building departments.

France and Belgium

By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS

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AFTER two weeks of bitter parliamentary fighting, Premier Herriot, on April 10, submitted the resignation of his Ministry to President Doumergue; the fall of the Government, which had been daily expected since the latter part of March, followed a defeat by a vote of 156 to 132 in the Senate, on the issue of exceeding the legal limit in the bank note circulation of the Bank of France. Centring its attention upon the status of the franc, the Senatorial Opposition at noon on April 10, announced a desire to interpellate the Premier at the afternoon session; Premier Herriot accepted the challenge and at the end of the debate he demanded a vote of confidence; the defeat of that measure sent him at once to the Elysée Palace with his resignation. Senator François-Marsal, chief spokesman for the Opposition on the occasion of M. Herriot's final appearance, charged the Premier with responsibility for the illegal printing of banknotes above the official circulation figure; this inflation, the Senator said, represented underhand work and destroyed the confidence of the French public; he further charged that the loss in value of French securities since the advent of the Herriot Government last June had been 81,000,000,000 francs.

Signs of a weakening of the Government's support first became evident about the middle of March; the troubles of the Government originally arose over two quite separate issues, each of which, however, intensified the antagonism of the Opposition—the revival of the war with the Clericals, especially in its recent phase, over religious education in Alsace-Lorraine, and the policy of the Senate in recasting the budget to meet the serious financial situation confronting the Republic.

The whole history of the conflict between Church and State in France is discussed in other pages of this magazine. Regarding the three-day school

strike called by Archbishop Ruch of Strasbourg, Alsace, on March 14, it was later reported from the various districts in Alsace that in the towns from 30 to 50 per cent. of the children stayed away; in the country districts, however, the strikers totaled up to 75 or 80 per cent., the village priests in many instances standing in the school doorways and waving away such falterers as seemed inclined to obey the schoolmaster's call.

The Chamber of Deputies, on March 19, found itself compelled to discuss the Government Church policy at length. The Left parties spoke with studied moderation at first, and certain leaders among them, notably M. Léon Berard, though criticizing the Government, also blamed the Cardinals as having "no right to give instruction to the State." M. Berard said that the nation was becoming tired of the quarrel, which had been largely manufactured by the unwise suppression of the Vatican Embassy, and by the foolish attitude of the extreme Catholics. All moderation, however, ceased on March 20, when passions rose and the Chamber was the scene of fist fights and general tumult. M. Herriot, when at last he was permitted to speak, handled the Clericals and the Cardinals' manifesto without gloves. Finally, after one particularly tumultuous Deputy had been suspended for fifteen sittings and certain moderate Catholics had expressed regret that the Cardinals should have seen fit to mingle in politics, the Chamber voted to approve the Government's policy, 325 to 251; this rather small margin was obtained only by combining the votes of all the Socialist and Radical-Socialist Parties. Many civic demonstrations, continuing the series of public protests which had gone on in all parts of France for months, added dramatic intensity to this controversy.

With the advent of April public interest turned from the religious issue to

the financial crisis. The increase of the floating debt, the enormous pressure from many interests for an expansion of the legal limit for the issue of bank notes, the demand of the Socialist elements for some drastic fiscal expedient such as a levy upon capital, were coupled with the action of the Senate in considerably reducing the new budget.

As passed by the Chamber this financial program for 1925 called for an outlay of about 34,000,000,000 francs. The Senate Financial Commission, however, examined every item in a spirit of extreme economy. Senator Henri Bérenger on March 23 issued a report for the commission, estimating the national income for the coming year at some 32,674,000,000 francs and the expenditures, after drastic cutting, at about 32,496,000,000 francs. The balance, it was declared, would be kept for emergencies and especially for the protection of the exchange value of the franc.

It was reported at first that these changes were of minor importance and would be acceptable to the Government. The Senate program, however, proved very soon to be extremely unwelcome to the Socialist group in the Chamber. It was reported in Cabinet circles on March 30 that the Premier would accept about one-half of the cut of 1,332,000,000 francs, but would decline to approve the full program of the Senatorial Commission. The currency stringency, in the meanwhile, was causing grave concern in business circles. The limit of note circulation for the Bank of France was fixed by law at 41,000,000,000 francs. It was asserted that business was being halted by the lack of currency. On the other hand, the mere rumor that "inflation" was contemplated caused a fall in the value of the franc of six points on the New York Exchange and a serious shrinkage in the value of French bonds.

Following reports that the legal limit of note circulation of the Bank of France had been increased, the French Government on April 2 issued this official communiqué:

The Cabinet Council has examined the in-

creased credits which the Ministers plan to ask during the discussion of the budget by the Senate, and which will be limited to incompressible necessities of their departments. Faithful to the declaration it has made to ask no inflation for the needs of the State and to remain within the legal limits for advances from the Bank of France to the Treasury, the Government has examined the measures it will propose to meet the present needs of commerce without failing in its undertaking.

This announcement was followed by an occurrence of dramatic interest. During the afternoon, while the Premier was in the Chamber, M. Clémentel made a speech in the Senate in which he announced that the Government intended to increase the bank note circulation by a limited amount to meet commercial needs. This statement did not have the authority of the Government. When Premier Herriot heard that it had been made, he rushed over from the Chamber to the Senate and called on the Finance Minister to repudiate what he had said. Following M. Clémentel to the tribune, he tried vigorously to correct the impression made by the statements of his Minister.

At 10 o'clock that night a hurried meeting was called of the Cabinet and the heads of the Financial Commission of the Chamber, from which meeting M. Clémentel was a notable absentee. At that assembly M. Clémentel's letter of resignation was read. Senator Anatole de Monzie was appointed to his post.

The Herriot financial plan was introduced in the Chamber of Deputies, on April 7, by the new Minister of Finance. Careful study of the text of the bill revealed that what the Government proposed was not a capital levy, but a forced consolidation loan by which it sought to obtain 10 per cent. of the acquired wealth of the country. Provision was made for subscription in the form of French Government securities, and it was the general expectation that subscriptions would be almost entirely in this form. Inasmuch as subscriptions to the extent of 10 per cent. of acquired wealth were virtually made obligatory, financial experts reached the immediate conclusion that the successful

working of the plan would amount to a loan consolidation, replacing by 3 per cent. bonds the French extant securities which may be regarded as paying 6 or 7 per cent. It should be borne in mind that the Government reserved the right to fix the figure at which the securities would be received, and it was expected that this value would correspond closely to the Bourse quotation of the security involved.

No exact calculation had been made, even by the Government, it was said, as to what the plan might produce. Generally it was estimated that if the project should be two-thirds successful, which, it was thought, might be optimistic, the yield over the five years provided for subscriptions to the forced loan would be around 40,000,000,000 francs. It would be the saving in the reduction of interest from 6 to 7 per cent. to 3 per cent. on this amount which would measure the benefit to the Treasury. No one, it was reported from Paris, expected that the plan would bring in any additional money.

The financial plan was accompanied by a measure providing for an increase in the legal limit of circulation for the Bank of France from 41,000,000,000 to 45,000,000,000 and in the legal limit of bank advances to the State from 22,000,000,000 to 26,000,000,000 francs.

During the days that followed the resignation of M. Clémentel, there were definite indications of a withdrawal from the Government of the support which had made the Herriot Administration possible. Premier Herriot was declared to have been caught between two fires. The Socialists were insistent for a "capital levy"; the Conservatives and many of the radical groups, on the other hand, were opposed to such a step. A move in either direction meant a loss of many votes to the Government; furthermore, the Senate was conceded to have been greatly strengthened in its opposition to substantially the whole Government program. So acute was the situation on April 3 that the Minister of the Interior, M. Chaumets, announced that the Ministers had de-

cided to abandon the paragraph in the budget which reduced appropriations for maintenance of the Vatican Embassy. This was interpreted by some as an indication that the Government was considering a reversal of its Vatican policy.

The position of the Herriot Government became still more unstable during the ensuing week. The Senate on April 7 passed an adverse vote on the Government; since the question of confidence was not at issue, the vote was not consequential in itself; observers, however, saw it as indicative of the Senate's growing animosity toward the Premier. A more definite setback was suffered by M. Herriot on April 8, when, demanding a vote of confidence in the Senate, he obtained what was announced as a favorable vote of 142 to 140; three Senators who had been credited with pro-Government votes protested that they were wrongly recorded, thus tending to indicate that the Government was in a minority. The vote was not officially changed, but Premier Herriot, on hearing of the incident, announced his intention to resign. He called an immediate meeting of the Cabinet; his Ministers, however, opposed his resignation and he decided to fight on. The Premier again called for a test vote on April 9, this time in the Chamber of Deputies, and the result was a favorable vote of 290 to 246. The victory, however, was an empty one, since nearly 100 Opposition Deputies had refrained from voting. The Herriot Ministry fell the following day, April 10, under the circumstances narrated.

Owing to the excitement incident to the resignation of the Government, comparatively little attention was given to the fact that a bill for women's suffrage had again come before Parliament. Twice since the World War the Chamber of Deputies had passed such a bill, and twice the Senate had rejected the measure. The Chamber on March 31 began debating a proposal to give women a vote in municipal elections only. Hitherto, the Liberals and Socialists had been the chief advocates of such

measures; the new bill, however, was understood to be supported mainly by Conservatives and Clericals who apparently believed that women voters were likely to act in opposition to the Radicals. The Chamber, on April 7, passed the suffrage bill by a vote of 390 to 183. It then went to the Senate.

Much to public dissatisfaction, the French birth-rate continued to decline; the vital statistics for 1924 recently issued showed that births numbered 752,101 and deaths 679,885, the births exceeding the deaths by only 72,216 as compared with about 95,000 for 1923. It was pointed out that, except for the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine, where large families are still happily common, the situation would be yet worse. French authorities asserted that in Germany also the birth rate had begun to fall, but that the margin of births over deaths there remained about 300,000.

The Austrian Government announced on April 4 that arrangements had been completed by which France would admit 10,000 Austrian immigrants each year; the new arrivals were to be employed in the devastated areas of Northern France.

Belgium

PARLIAMENTARY elections were held throughout Belgium on April 5. The campaign had been dull; no outstanding question was at issue, and no great public interest was taken in the balloting. The result, however, disclosed a surprising victory for the Socialists; returns computed on April 8 indicated that the Socialists would form numerically the largest group in the next Chamber of Deputies, where they will have seventy-nine members in place of sixty-eight in the last Chamber. The returns gave the Catholics seventy-eight seats instead of eighty, and the Liberals twenty-two instead of thirty-three. The Communists, hitherto unrepresented, gained two seats, and the extremist Flamings returned with six seats instead of four.

In the next Senate there will be seventy-one Catholics against seventy-three

in the last; twenty-three Liberals against twenty-eight, and fifty-nine Socialists against fifty-two.

No group will have an absolute majority in the new Parliament. Under the system of proportional representation, however, the Socialist gain of eleven seats constituted an indisputable electoral success; the sequential parliamentary procedure would therefore be the organization of a new Ministry under M. Vandervelde, leader of the Socialist Party. The way for such a possible development was cleared on April 5, when Premier Theunis handed the resignation of his Cabinet to the King, who persuaded the Prime Minister to retain his post until a new Cabinet could be formed. The Premier's action had long been expected. M. Theunis first headed a Cabinet formed in December, 1921; this Ministry resigned in March, 1924, and a new Government was organized with M. Theunis again at its head.

M. Tschoffen, Minister of Industry and Public Works, in an article in the March number of *La Revue Belge*, presented some new figures on the progress of reconstructive work in Belgium. Domestic conditions, he said, were improving steadily; he announced also that, of 100,000 houses destroyed during the war, 96,300 had been rebuilt; of 1,300 public buildings that had been ruined 1,231 were reconstructed and that 385 schools had been built to take the place of 392 destroyed during the war.

Though Belgium as a whole continued prosperous, the condition of the Belgian coal industry caused serious anxiety. This industry was extraordinarily profitable in 1923 and part of 1924, thanks to the occupation of the Ruhr and the partial halt of German mining; recently, however, prices dropped from 20 to 50 per cent., and even at that figure great supplies of coal were accumulating.

The financial situation in France during March was declared to have caused a steady smuggling of French capital over the border into Belgium. The

smuggling was said to have been done mostly through the border town of Valenciennes; the French authorities, in an effort to stop the traffic established

numerous guards at this point. It was estimated that 3,000,000,000 francs had been exported to Belgium through Valenciennes in the last three months.

Germany and Austria

By HARRY J. CARMAN

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THE outstanding event in Germany during the month under review was the general election held March 29 for the purpose of naming a successor to the late President Ebert. Seven candidates, representing all shades and categories of German post-war politics, entered the race. The parties of the Right—Nationalists, German People's Party and the Economic Alliance—united on Dr. Karl Jarres, Mayor of Duisburg and Vice Chancellor in the Marx Cabinet. The Democrats named Dr. Willy Hellpach, President of Baden; Dr. Wilhelm Marx, former Chancellor, was the standard bearer for the Centrists, while the Socialists nominated Otto Braun, former Premier of Prussia. The Communist candidate was Ernest Thaelmann. The Bavarian People's Party, instead of supporting Jarres, voted for Premier Held of Bavaria, and a wing of the Nationalists supported Ludendorff. The result of the balloting was as follows:

Jarres, Nationalist.....	10,408,365
Braun, Socialist.....	7,798,346
Marx, Centrist.....	3,884,877
Thaelmann, Communist.....	1,871,207
Hellpach, Democrat.....	1,567,197
Held, Bavarian People's Party....	1,006,790
Ludendorff	284,975
Scattering	34,245

A total of about 26,856,000 votes were cast or 3,000,000 less than in the last Parliamentary elections; this was equivalent to about 70 per cent. of the electorate. The three Republican parties—Socialists, Centrists and Democrats—obtained a total of 13,000,000 votes, as against 10,400,000 for Jarres,

the Right bloc candidate. Thaelmann's vote was 900,000 less than the Communists polled in the December elections for the Reichstag. The showing of Dr. Jarres was very disappointing to his conservative followers, who had not only hoped but expected that he would obtain the needed majority. His vote in the Rhineland was far below expectations. Strong pressure was brought to bear on Ludendorff to withdraw his candidacy on the ground that the Right should stand solidly behind Jarres. Ludendorff, however, refused to be dissuaded; his followers confidently predicted that he would poll a million votes. Inasmuch as no candidate received the necessary majority, a second election was scheduled for April 26, at which time the candidate securing the largest number of votes was to be elected.

The campaign, which was bitterly fought, was featured by many verbal attacks of a personal character. Little or no money, however, was spent on brass bands, newspaper advertising, billboard publicity or other election devices so familiar to Americans. Nor was there much betting on the outcome. The religious issue was injected into the campaign by the National Evangelical League, which used its influence to swing votes to Jarres. The balloting was marked by a remarkable absence of disorder. The police took extraordinary precautions around polling places where Communists were strong, but there was little need for such protection and only here and there were minor brawls reported. Throughout

the country the election was regarded more or less as a mere preliminary trial of strength between the contending parties.

From the indications appearing after the elections, it seemed that in the new elections of April 26, which were to be decisive, the parties of the Right, together with the Bavarian People's Party, would support Jarres, while the Left bloc, composed of the Centrists, Democrats and Socialists, would back ex-Chancellor Marx. On April 8, however, the situation was suddenly transformed by an event of a most sensational character—the announcement that former Field Marshal von Hindenburg, after twice refusing to enter the lists, had finally consented to run for the Presidency. This meant that in the forthcoming election the issues of monarchism and republicanism would be joined under the respective leadership of von Hindenburg and ex-Chancellor Wilhelm Marx. It was believed in Berlin that von Hindenburg had reconsidered his former refusal to run at the personal request of the former Kaiser, with whom he was in constant correspondence. The announcement came as a great surprise, as previous efforts to shelve Jarres in favor of von Hindenburg had apparently come to naught, largely because of the bitter opposition of Herr von Stresemann, head of the German People's Party. It was stated that strong financial interests behind his party and which were determined on von Hindenburg's nomination, had broken down von Stresemann's resistance. The party spokesmen denied that the party would break with the National bloc supporting von Hindenburg's candidacy.

The proclamation announcing the nomination of von Hindenburg was signed by the Nationalists, the German People's Party, the Bavarian People's Party, the Economic Party, the Hanover Party and the Peasants' Organization. In the Reichstag these parties total 202 votes and represent more than 12,000,000 voters. The Republican parties supporting Dr. Marx have 232 votes in

the Reichstag and represent almost 14,000,000 voters. The result was made problematical, however, because of the probability that party lines would not be maintained in the case of candidates so widely known and representative of such different tendencies. The announcement aroused heated controversy in the German press.

Prussia's long drawn out Cabinet crisis entered a new stage on March 31 when Dr. Herman Höpker-Aschoff, Democrat, was elected to succeed Dr. Marx, who resigned on March 12. The new Premier was an eleventh hour choice of the three coalition parties who earlier in the day had united on the Socialist, Otto Braun, as part of a political compact by which Dr. Marx, Centrist, was in turn to receive the coalition's support for the German Presidency. So great was the Socialist pressure that this pact be carried out that Höpker-Aschoff resigned and Braun was chosen in his stead. On April 6 he announced his Cabinet as follows:

DR. ZEHNHOFF, Centrist—Justice.
HERR SEVERING, Socialist—Interior.
HERR HIERTSIFER, Centrist—Public Welfare.
DR. BECKER, Non-Partisan—Education.
HERR STEIGER, Centrist—Agriculture.
DR. HOECKER-ASCHOFF, Democrat—Finance.
DR. SCHREIBER, Democrat—Trade and Commerce.

A definite understanding, effective May 1, 1925, was reached between the German and British Governments in respect to the future handling of the 26 per cent. import levy assessed by England under the Reparations Recovery act. Instead of penalizing German exporters individually, as in the past, England's share under the Recovery act will be paid out of a reserve fund of 10,000,000 marks deposited by Germany with the Bank of England. German exporters believed that the new method would eliminate unnecessary red tape and thus facilitate business. A German-Belgian commercial agreement was concluded on April 4. It was based on the

favoured-nation principle and affected particularly German trade in the Belgian Congo and in the Belgian mandated territories.

German trade continued to be fairly satisfactory; orders for engineering and metal wares had increased considerably. The last report on freight traffic issued in the middle of February showed that 50 per cent. more goods were being hauled than in the middle of 1924.

The Reichsbank's annual report for 1924 interested financial Berlin chiefly for its contrast with pre-war conditions. The dividend was fixed at 10 per cent., which compared with 8.43 in 1913. Gross profits for the year, 307,073,350 marks, contrasted with 83,452,881 in 1913, but the increase was partly accounted for by the bank's profit last year of 65,359,782 marks on purchases of gold and silver. Net profits in 1924 were 122,514,191 against 50,615,079 in 1913, and check clearings were 526,027,884,200 against 422,339,707,200. The bank's policy in regulating credit and otherwise stabilizing the money market in the interest of current stability was materially furthered by the Dawes reform. On Dec. 31 Reichsbank shares held by foreigners amounted to 7,200, as against 81,000 held by Germans. In reviewing the year's business the directorate laid stress on the significance of the Dawes reparation plan as a stabilizing factor in the German economic and currency situation.

Although business had improved and unemployment, as compared with a year ago, had fallen off from 1,439,780 to 591,667, living costs continued to rise. The official cost-of-living index for March was 136 against 135.6 in February and 123.8 in January. Labor unrest had been manifested by a number of strikes, particularly by the railway men and the metal workers. The railway strike was settled on March 20, the men receiving a wage increase. The metal workers were still out when this article went to press.

Clashes between the police and Communists were frequent during the month. Objections by the police to the Com-

munist's translating of speeches of French and British Communists caused trouble in Halle on March 13; six were killed and thirty-six wounded. The German Communist contended that the police started the shooting without provocation. Two days later a man was killed in a similar clash in Neuköln. Seventy-two Communists serving time in Hamburg prison went on a hunger strike on March 14.

An agreement for direct cable service from Emden to the United States, by way of the Azores, was signed by representatives of the Western Union Telegraph Company, the Commercial Telegraph Company, the German Atlantic Telegraph Company and Herr Stinckel, the German Minister of Posts. The German company was to handle the entire traffic of both American companies to and from Germany between Emden and the Azores, while traffic between the Azores and the United States was to be under the joint administration of the American companies. In order to finance construction of the cable between Emden and the Azores the German company already has been promised a twenty-year loan of \$4,000,000 at 7 per cent. The Portuguese Government granted the necessary permission for landing the cable at the Azores.

An official German Agricultural Commission, the first to travel abroad since the World War, left Bremen on April 2 for a six months' study of the progress made in American agriculture during the last ten years.

One of the most significant post-war developments in Germany was the "Colonial Week" celebration, which reached its climax on April 2, when President Schacht of the Reichsbank and Duke Johann von Mecklenburg advised German business men "to keep up Germany's interest in the big international culture problems of the world." Dr. Schacht stressed Germany's right to collaborate in the extermination of sleeping sickness "despite politics." German immigration officials frankly declared that one of Germany's great problems was "to find a country where

our surplus population can work as successfully as they did in the African colonies."

The new 15,000-ton liner *Berlin* of the North German Lloyd Line was launched on March 24 at the Vulcan shipyards in the presence of a delegation of Berlin officials, headed by Lord Mayor Boess, whose wife christened the new ship. The *Berlin* will accommodate 500 first-class, 500 second-class and 700 third-class passengers. She will have an average speed of sixteen and one-half knots and will enter the Bremen-New York service next Autumn.

Eighty members of the German Reichswehr were drowned in the River Weser on March 31 when a pontoon bridge being constructed by pioneers in connection with the Reichswehr manoeuvres collapsed. The victims were part of a column marching in full equipment.

Austria

VIENNA theatrical organizations representing both directors and employes declared war during March on the taxation policy of Herr Breitner, Social Democratic Director of Municipal Finances. At a great mass meeting held March 29 several speakers, among them Social Democrats and trade unionists, denounced the theatre taxes as arbitrary and confiscatory. Five out of fourteen of the larger theatres, they declared, had been driven to the verge of bankruptcy. In reply Herr Breitner declared that the theatres have managed to thrive despite the present tax, that the directors wish to make too large profits, that those who are able to buy tickets are also able to pay the tax and, above all, that the revenue obtained from the amusement levy is indispensable for the upkeep of hospitals and the improvement of social welfare institutions.

In his latest monthly report Dr. Zimmermann, League of Nations Commissioner, stressed the need for more highly centralized control. The present system of division of power, particularly financial, between the provinces and the Federal State was, in his opinion, a

stumbling block which retarded both political reconstruction and economic progress. The Commissioner praised the high quality of Austrian industry and culture, but declared that a more efficient centralized Government was necessary if Austria was to obtain foreign credits. Austrian representatives had secured a loan of about \$22,000,000 from the Schroeders of London and J. P. Morgan & Co. of New York to complete electrification of the Austrian railroads. This improvement, when completed, will have a far-reaching effect on the whole country, especially as regards coal importation. The Tegitsch power station was officially opened in Styria on March 28. This plant will have an output of 420,000 kilowatts and will play an important part in the country's electrification.

During the past month a number of American bankers, including James Speyer and Felix Warburg of New York, visited Vienna, and this was accepted as a sign of reawakening interest and returning confidence in the former Habsburg State. Camillo Castiglioni, the Vienna financier, who was named last Autumn in connection with the spectacular failure of the Depositenbank and the general crisis in Austria, was exonerated of personal guilt by the Austrian Government on Feb. 4. The Government found upon investigation that the activities of Castiglioni were in no way responsible for the bank's failure.

The much-needed outlet for Austria's surplus population, formerly provided by the United States but now blocked by the American Immigration law, was found as a result of negotiations between the Vienna Chamber of Labor and the French Government. It was announced that France, one of the few countries with a labor shortage, would admit 10,000 Austrian workers yearly. They were to be employed chiefly in the devastated areas and also in the mines, iron works and forests of Eastern France.

The "Emperor's Carpet," regarded as one of the finest and most beautiful of

all early Persian carpets in existence and which for many years hung as a panel of tapestry on the grand staircase of the Austrian royal Summer residence at Schönbrunn, has been sold to Messrs. Cardinal & Hartford, carpet manufacturers of London. The carpet, which is in a perfect state of preservation, was presented by the Shah of Persia to Peter the Great of Russia; Peter in turn presented it to Leopold I., Emperor of Austria, in 1698. Experts place the value of the carpet at £100,000. The sale was made with the consent of the Reparation Committee for the purpose of relieving the shortage of money in Austria.

Proposals to reduce Austria's diminu-

tive army of about 17,000 were being strenuously opposed by the Social Democratic leader, Herr Bauer. The Austrian Social Democracy, he asserted, was menaced by Hungary and by reactionary elements at home.

According to the Geneva protocol, three of the many holidays observed in Austria should have been abolished this year. The majority of the Austrians, however, do not relish such a change; and when the Government abolished March 25 as a holiday the working class, supported by the Social Democrats, refused to recognize the date as a work day. Only a few business houses were able to keep open, and even the municipal buildings were closed.

Italy

By LILY ROSS TAYLOR

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INTEREST in affairs in Italy during the month under review centred upon the illness of Premier Mussolini; it became apparent about the middle of March that the Fascista leader's disability, which, though described as a slight attack of bronchial influenza, had lasted since the middle of February, was more serious than had at first been believed. The lack of any official bulletins about his health provoked many conflicting reports on the character of his illness and its gravity. These rumors on March 22 inspired a brief official report which read as follows: "The news published outside Italy that Mussolini's condition has made an operation necessary is absolutely untrue. His convalescence is making excellent progress." At the same time it was announced that on March 28, the Premier would preside at a Cabinet meeting, the first to be held since his illness. The Italian Embassy on March 24 issued an official denial of the reports in certain American newspapers with respect to Mussolini's condition. Quite unexpect-

edly, on March 22, just after the announcement about his convalescence had been made, Mussolini appeared on the balcony of the Palazzo Chigi in Rome to greet the great throngs who were celebrating the sixth anniversary of the establishment of Fascism. After being welcomed by a prolonged ovation, Mussolini made a brief speech that had much of his old fire. He put the familiar question, "Will you follow me?" and was greeted with the wild acclamation that the question always aroused among his followers. Signor Mussolini on March 27 reappeared in the Chamber and there scored certain newspapers for their reports of his illness. "That section of the press which is ready to stop at nothing," he said, "to increase its circulation and to make more money is a beast of prey let loose upon long suffering humanity * * * Such is their imbecile perversity that after inventing illnesses that I never had they are now quite capable of inventing the story that during the past few weeks I was merely shamming illness." Subsequent to this

address Mussolini appeared to have resumed his full activity.

In the Chamber of Deputies, which reconvened on March 9, there were constant scenes of disorder. The combined "Aventine" Opposition continued to boycott the Chamber; the Communists, however, attended the March sessions. Charges that graft was practiced among the Fascists were made by a Communist Deputy on March 12, and a fist fight was narrowly averted. Two such fist fights occurred later, one on March 26, the day on which Mussolini returned to the Chamber. On that occasion the Fascist Secretary General Farinacci hurled the Communist Deputy Damen from the Chamber and the other Communist Deputies were also forcibly ejected. They returned under the guard of the sergeants-at-arms. Mussolini's first speech on March 27 criticized the Geneva Protocol as "a machine which in the interests of peace was preparing to unleash war." The Chamber remained in session until April 4, when, after voting the budget, it adjourned for the Easter recess. At the last session Minister of Finance di Stefani stated the following principles on which his financial policy was based:

First, to safeguard, encourage and build up private fortunes wherean riches of the nation are founded. Second, fair distribution of fiscal pressure among various social classes. Third, reduction of the most onerous taxation. Fourth, strict economy in Government expenditure. Fifth, gradual reduction of the fiduciary circulation. Sixth, systematic upbuilding of reserves, which must proceed step by step with reduction of circulation.

In the Senate the chief subject under discussion was the reform bill of Signor di Giorgio, Minister of War, which proposed, among other measures, the reduction of the standing army from 200,000 to about 140,000 men; part of the money thus saved was to be spent on army equipment. Mussolini, who had followed the developments on this question with close attention, had asked that the discussion of the bill be postponed until he could be present. It was therefore expected that he would fight for the bill, but after the army chiefs

in the Senate, Marshals Cadorna and Diaz, and General Giardino had all reported adversely on it, Mussolini unexpectedly postponed consideration of the bill, stating that it would be offered with various changes at a later period. Preparedness was the keynote of a notable speech on this subject by Mussolini, in which he told of the danger of future wars; the state of Europe today and the armaments of France make new hostilities an imminent menace, he said. The Senate voted to have his speech printed and posted.

Minister di Giorgio resigned because of the treatment accorded his reform bill. It was announced that there would be a slight Cabinet reorganization by which many of the duties of the Minister of War would be performed, as was the case during the war, by the Army Chief of Staff. The portfolio of war was to be held by Mussolini himself.

During the month under review, for the first time since the Fascist Government came into power serious strikes occurred in Italy. The great increase in the cost of living had caused grave unrest among the workers. The first strike was declared by the Fascist Syndicates of metal workers of Brescia. Deputy Rossoni, head of those syndicates, declared that Fascism had not made the revolution "to fatten the wallets of the rich or to swell the profits of the capitalists"; he maintained that the strike would continue until the demands of the workers were recognized. The situation grew increasingly serious; it was complicated by a decision of the old Italian Federation of metal workers, whose members are largely Socialists, also to declare a strike, thereby presenting an anomaly wherein Fascists and Socialists made common cause. The strike rapidly spread throughout Lombardy and Piedmont and eventually included groups of workers in regions as far distant as Triest and Naples. In Lombardy alone more than 80,000 men were affected. The Fascist Government induced the Fascist Syndicates to return to work within three days, this being effected by a compromise in which the

workers were given an increase of one lira a day instead of the three lire asked for. The agreement, however, was limited in application; in Milan, for instance, it affected only 6,000 of the 36,000 men on strike. The Fascist strikers were allowed the privilege of meetings and publicity, but the other workers on strike were prevented from holding any gatherings or making any demonstrations. The Federation of metal workers in Lombardy on March 19 ordered its members to return to work; the manifesto issued by the Lombardy Federation stated that the strike was prolonged after the Fascist settlement in order to show the independence of the old order of metal workers and to protest against an agreement that was formed with a minority of the men on strike. In other regions similar settlements were speedily effected.

There were numerous political disturbances throughout Italy during April; on April 6, riots in which Fascisti and Aventine Deputies were injured, occurred in Rome, Trent and other cities; subsequent to the killing of a Fascista and a Communist, a battle in which two more Fascisti were slain occurred on April 8 at Faenza. Meanwhile previous crimes by the Fascisti went unpunished. The preparation for the trial of Matteotti's murderers proceeded slowly, but the trial itself seemed as far off as ever. Meanwhile, Regazzi, Fascist chief of Molinella, a town near Bologna, was tried and acquitted of a murder which he was alleged to have committed in a punitive raid in his district. His acts had been so flagrant that the Fascist Minister of Justice, who has since resigned, had demanded his arrest and Regazzi had voluntarily given himself up. The trial of Regazzi became a political affair in which the family of the murdered man could find no counsel to take charge of the prosecution. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty. The comment of Farinacci, Secretary General of the Fascist party, in his paper the *Cremona Nuova* is significant. He asserted that even if Regazzi had been guilty the jury would

have been right in not confounding "an episode of our revolution with a vulgar common crime." Cardinal Maffi of Pisa issued a Lenten pastoral letter, the subject of which was "Thou shalt not kill." It contained an arraignment of the disregard of human life which "has become the fashion of our time." The publication of the letter was forbidden and newspapers which referred to it were sequestered. Only the official Vatican organ, the *Osservatore Romano*, dared to print the letter, and even this publication omitted the sentence which referred to acts in Pisa that Maffi had lately condemned.

The press censorship provided for by law since last July and rigorously enforced since Jan. 1 led to a system of circulating anti-Government literature in manuscript form. It was asserted more than once in the Opposition press that the memorial prepared by Cesare Rossi was not the only statement that had been written by the men involved in the Matteotti affair. The publication of Rossi's memorial, which gave no account of the murder, but which charged Mussolini with responsibility for the Fascist acts of violence that led up to the crime, was followed immediately by a much more severe application of the press censorship law and no other memorials were published. The *Nation*, the American weekly, published in its International Relations Section for April 8 a memorial which purported to have been prepared by Filipelli, the Fascist editor whose automobile was used to kidnap Matteotti. This memorial, according to directions attached to it, is being passed from person to person in something of the manner of a chain letter; the document, whether genuine or not, is seen as indicative of an underground campaign against the Government. The purpose of the memorial is to clear Filipelli of complicity in the crime; his motor, it asserts, was borrowed without his knowledge of the purpose for which it was to be used. The assertion is repeatedly made by Filipelli that Mussolini had full knowledge of the plans to kidnap Matteotti

and of the subsequent efforts to cover up traces of the crime.

The dispatches of foreign correspondents in Italy were regularly subjected to censorship during the month under review, a circumstance that was regarded as explanatory of the pro-Fascist tone of most news coming from Rome. The Government charged that the alarmist reports of riots and murder which foreign correspondents sent out of Italy made the censorship necessary. The situation became so acute that early in March the foreign correspondents in Rome sent the following protest to the Government:

The Foreign Press Association, having examined the situation created for foreign correspondents in Italy as a consequence of the criticisms, not to say threats, directed against them by certain organs of the Italian press, and by certain associations, and remaining strictly on professional grounds and outside any consideration of party politics, is

1. Of the opinion that the members of the association have shown no less discretion and tact toward Italy than has been shown by Italian correspondents in all the capitals of the world, and further that the foreign press as a whole in reporting and judging Italian events has clearly availed itself of the same liberty as the Italian press has taken full advantage of in dealing with foreign events;

2. Is of the opinion that attacks of a violent nature systematically directed against the persons of foreign correspondents, which find no counterpart in the newspapers of other countries, as have recently occurred, are inadmissible, and the association regrets that a section of Italian journalism is anxious to injure the bonds of comradeship which should unite all professional journalists;

3. Deems it prudent to insist on the right of foreign correspondents to gather information from all sources without being in consequence accused of taking part in the strife of party politics, of which its members are, and intend to remain, strictly observers;

4. Energetically refutes the press campaign collectively directed against foreign correspon-

dents—a campaign which casts grave doubts on the professional honesty of the whole class of organized correspondents and is prejudicial to their rights in all countries; declares that should this state of affairs continue it will be necessary for the association of the foreign press in Rome to consult with a view to taking united action; and decides to send a copy of the present resolution to the Italian foreign correspondents and to the Italian authorities.

Statistics made public by the Italian Government on April 6 revealed that a steady increase of trade between Italy and Russia had followed the resumption of diplomatic relations between these nations; the trade figures, however, were still far below the pre-war level.

The balance, which was heavily against Italy, showed signs of becoming even worse. Importations from Russia in 1924 were marked by an increase of more than 200 per cent. over 1923, while exportations to Russia increased only 30 per cent.

The total value of importations from Russia increased from 42,000,000 lire in 1923 to 134,000,000 in 1924, while exportations increased only from 6,000,000 lire to 9,000,000 lire. The ratio of exportations to importations last year therefore was one to fifteen, while the pre-war was one to five.

Chief importations were cereals, coal, mineral and oils. The chief exportations were silage, agricultural products, sulphur, tartaric acid and motor cars.

The first cable to establish direct communication between Italy and America was formally dedicated on March 16 by Baron de Martino, Italian Ambassador to the United States. President Coolidge sent the first message, addressing it to King Victor Emmanuel; the President, in his message, expressed the hope that the new service would bring closer contact between Italy and America. The King replied in similar terms.

Eastern Europe and the Balkans

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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Albania

AFTER the Albanian revolution of December, 1924, when it became known that the Government of Ahmed Zogu had granted the Anglo-Persian Oil Company what virtually amounted to an exclusive right to bore for oil in Albanian territory, Italy lodged a protest both with the British and with the Albanian Government. In London she started negotiations aimed at inducing the British firm to give up a portion of its concession, and at Tirana (capital of Albania) parallel negotiations calculated to persuade the Zogu Government to concede to Italy whatever rights the British could be induced to yield. It was announced at Rome on March 11 that the Italian-Albanian negotiations had been brought to a successful termination and that Ahmed Zogu's Government had agreed to grant to Italy the right to bore in any areas relinquished by the Anglo-Persian Company. At the same time it was stated that the British negotiation was progressing satisfactorily.

Another announcement on March 11 was to the effect that the Albanian authorities had agreed to put into force without delay the commercial treaty already concluded between Italy and Albania.

Bulgaria

ON March 11 the Sofia Government requested the Council of Ambassadors to authorize it to enroll temporarily 4,000 soldiers beyond the quota permitted by the Neuilly Treaty, in order to make it possible to deal more effectively with the troubles provoked by the Communists. The authorities continued to announce the discovery of plots engineered from Mos-

cow and Vienna and the seizure of stores of arms and munitions; and assassinations, raids and arrests enlivened the daily routine. On March 20 the Skupstina (Parliament) expelled six of its Communist members. Anarchists, also, were in evidence, and on March 23 a running street fight in Sofia between an anarchist band and the police resulted in three deaths.

Czechoslovakia

AN outstanding problem in Czechoslovakia in recent months has been the adjustment of relations between Church and State. The situation became somewhat acute in February as a result of controversies growing out of a pastoral letter written at Christmas, 1924, by the Slovak Bishops, wherein the four Progressive parties supporting the Government were attacked and announcement was made that the Roman Catholic Church in Slovakia would refuse the sacraments to those of its members who belonged to these or to any other anti-clerical parties. In the view of the leaders of the four parties, the episcopal letter contained instructions which were incompatible with the national law providing for complete religious freedom; and inasmuch as the fifth party on whose support the Government depends is the Catholic Populist Party, it seemed not unlikely that the coalition would break up and the Ministry collapse. After lengthy negotiations however, between representatives of the four parties and those of the Populists, a working agreement was arrived at in early March, by which the Government reasserted the supremacy of the State over the canon law. At the same time bills were introduced covering phases of the religious problem not yet regarded as settled.

Both President Masaryk and Foreign Minister Benès took occasion within recent weeks to attack the oft-heard proposal for a Danubian federation. Speaking in the Senate on April 1, Mr. Benès pronounced a tariff union "impossible" and urged that, although the succession States might be expected to develop closer economic relations than at present, each must retain its sovereignty in every respect. In an interview three weeks earlier President Masaryk declared it unlikely that a federation composed of States that have not yet finished putting their own affairs in order would be able to attain stability and effectiveness. Better commercial treaties than those now in force were desirable, and would probably be made, but except in the event of an absolute necessity for defense against external attacks, no political federation was needed.

Under a settlement recently arrived at, Austria agreed to pay Czechoslovakia some seventy milliards of Austrian crowns in liquidation of debts incurred to or by private individuals before the creation of the succession States. Thus was removed a principal financial dispute hindering the execution of the St. Germain treaty.

Late in February a split occurred in the ranks of the Communist party, mainly over the question of how completely the organization should allow itself to be controlled by the Third (Moscow) International. The dissidents, representing the more cautious and nationalistic trade union element of the party, organized an Independent Communist party, with a program not notably different from that of the original party—a party which itself dates from a split of the Social Democratic Party four years ago. It was generally believed that any menace that communism might ever have held for Czechoslovakia had definitely disappeared. Czechoslovakia's position in this respect was notably different from that faced, or claimed to be faced, by the Governments of some of her neighbors, especially Bulgaria.

Greece.

FOLLOWING the expulsion of the Patriarch Constantinos, the Turkish police authorities of Constantinople also expelled, on March 28, the Greek Metropolitan of Paramythia, Albania, under the convention relating to the exchange of populations. A semi-official statement issued at Athens said that this act was regarded as the prelude to new expulsions in violation of the recommendations of the League of Nations.

While on an automobile tour near Arta, in Southern Epirus, on March 10, four American students of the American School of Archaeology were attacked by bandits, and one of the students, Dr. John Logan of Gainesville, Ga., who was holder of a traveling fellowship from the University of Wisconsin, was wounded so that he died a week later. The Greek Premier sent messages of regret to the American and British Ministers; the body was taken to Athens on a warship, and the funeral services were attended by most of the Cabinet. The Premier has requested that hereafter the Greek Government be notified in advance when excursions of the sort are contemplated, so that precautionary measures may be taken. Banditry has been on the increase of late and has become a serious problem.

A general railroad strike near the middle of March cut all rail communications between Greece and the rest of Europe and for a time seriously impeded American relief operations. These operations, carried on mainly by the American Friends of Greece, are serving a magnificent purpose, but are unfortunately restricted by lack of adequate funds. The most notable activity at present is that of providing work at living wages for refugee women and girls without other means of support.

An interesting and in some ways a revealing statement summarizing the situation in Greece at the end of 1924 and the beginning of 1925 was made by Premier Andreas Michalacopoulos in the *Eleftheron Vima*, the official organ of the present revolutionary Govern-

ment, on the request of this paper for a summary of the political outlook. The Prime Minister said, in part:

If one takes a look at the Greek situation as it was a year ago, and compares it with our present condition, he will not, I think, challenge the fact that a considerable improvement has taken place in 1924, even though it be admitted that such improvement fell short of one's expectations.

The republican form of Government was established following the expression of the will of the people. Almost all the army officers have returned to their military tasks. In a quiet, unostentatious way, yet steadily and systematically, the work of reorganization and training is going on in the army, so that within a short time the efficient Hellenic army of old will be restored to us. The foundations of our naval reorganization are also firmly established. * * *

I am not a militarist. I would be immensely happy had it been possible for our country to have absolute guarantee and security for its frontiers, enabling us to avoid those expenses that now go for purposes connected with the defense of the country. Unfortunately, the activity of the League of Nations, although very great and universally useful, cannot sufficiently assure the protection of any country against the cupidity of its neighbors. The ideals nurtured during the great war have not predominated, especially since America refused to participate in the League of Nations. The old system of alliances predominates today in Europe, and secret diplomacy, for a long time yet to come, will control the destinies of peoples. We will never enjoy any respect, and we will never be accepted as worth-while allies by anybody, so long as we do not contribute an army and a navy to the common cause.

Within a short time we shall renew our alliance with the friendly and neighboring State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Yugoslavia). * * * The alliance of the two countries is a guarantee for the present, and a further guarantee for the preservation and consolidation of the status quo, as established after the World War, in the Balkan countries. * * *

We must hasten the ratification of the new constitutional charter. This is what the healthy opinion of the country unanimously demands. But even from an international point of view we cannot inspire that confidence which we need so greatly, so long as we do not return to normal political life

through free elections. In order to accomplish this the good-will of all the members of the National Assembly and their cooperation are absolutely necessary. The speedy termination of the labors of this National Assembly is therefore of the utmost national importance.

Hungary

THE case of Count Michael Károlyi, first President of the Republic of Hungary, and admitted to the United States in February under pledge not to engage in political activity or discussion while here, continued to absorb public interest through March. Repeated appeals to President Coolidge and the State Department, by the American Civil Liberties Union and other organizations, failed to convince the authorities that any reason existed for rescinding or modifying the conditions originally imposed. Count Károlyi conducted himself discreetly throughout, remaining away from sundry meetings planned in his honor and refusing interviews except on purely non-political and impersonal matters. He and Countess Károlyi left the United States for Canada on April 7. On Canadian soil, Count Károlyi broke at last his compulsory silence and made a caustic attack upon the present Government of Hungary, which, he said, was responsible for the "gag" mandate imposed upon him by the United States Government during his stay there; the Horthy Administration, he charged, was despotic and of monarchistic tendencies; he added that any money given by Americans through new loans to Hungary during the régime of the present Government would be used to finance a new war in Central Europe.

The Pester Lloyd, in its issue of March 20, expressed appreciation of the exceptional tact with which Commissioner General Smith had performed his difficult duties as representative of the League of Nations charged to supervise the reconstruction of Hungary's finances. The editorial was written by ex-Foreign Minister Graz, who admitted that it was originally expected that the League representative would interfere

too much in the international affairs of the country. Mr. Smith's report for February showed continued favorable developments in the work of reconstruction. Early in April he sailed for America for the purpose of taking a two-months' vacation.

Keen interest was stirred by two notable projects of political reorganization. One related to the suffrage; the other to the creation of a Second Chamber. The main features of a Government bill on suffrage and other electoral matters became known to the press late in February, and newspaper discussion of the impending measure was continuing when these pages went to press.

Mr. Theodore Brentano of Chicago resigned as American Minister to Hungary in March. He was appointed by President Harding in 1922.

Poland

GERMAN proposals for a guarantee pact, submitted to the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium at the beginning of March, contained features which were understood at Warsaw to look to a reconstruction of Germany's eastern frontier so as to take away territory from Poland. Naturally, strong feeling manifested itself in Polish official circles and in the press. Speaking in the Diet on March 6, in reply to an urgent joint interpellation of all of the parliamentary parties, Premier Grabski declared that the country regarded a strict and unconditional observance of the territorial clauses of the Versailles Treaty as an indispensable condition of peace and that any attempt at violation of the status established by the several peace treaties would be "firmly and decisively repelled" by the Polish Government, which could rely upon the full and unequivocal support of the nation's allies. Official resolutions and mass meetings denounced the supposed German scheme and roused public feeling to a high pitch. The French announcement that any proposals could be considered at Paris only in close agreement with

France's allies, and Foreign Minister Skrzynski's report that conversations with Mr. Chamberlain showed that Great Britain was cherishing no project of frontier revision, afforded much reassurance, but by no means allayed feeling on the subject.

Frontier difficulties between Poland and Lithuania, involving chiefly an attack of Polish guards upon Lithuanian guards at Sirvintal on March 16, were adjusted on March 20, when the Lithuanian Foreign Minister announced that the prisoners taken during the clash had been released and the incident closed. This prompt solution was due to the fact that the episode occurred at a time when the Council of the League was in session at Geneva, enabling Mr. Chamberlain and M. Herriot to bring influence to bear upon the situation forcefully and immediately.

The League Council on March 13 decided to request a special session of the World Court to give an advisory opinion in the dispute between Poland and Danzig over the famous question of the mail-boxes; and a week later the Court notified the League authorities that a session for this purpose would be opened on April 14. This arrangement for adjudication was considered especially gratifying, inasmuch as there is at present no more inflammable issue in Europe than the future of Danzig. On March 20 the Polish Minister at Berlin officially denied the current reports in Germany that Polish troops had been mobilized with designs on the controverted port.

After it had been agreed between the Warsaw and Moscow Governments, after long negotiations, that two Poles held as political prisoners in Russia should be exchanged for two Russian Bolshevik lieutenants, Baginski and Wiczorkiewicz, under sentence of death at the Polish capital for bomb outrages in 1923, the two Russians were shot down by one of their guards on March 29 when being taken by train to the Soviet border for exchange.

Since the re-establishment of Poland considerable confusion has arisen from

the fact that the boundaries of ecclesiastical jurisdiction have not conformed to the present boundaries of the State, with the result that some parishes have been subject to bishops whose sees are in Germany, Lithuania or Czechoslovakia. A concordat concluded with Rome in February regulated this matter by providing that no Polish territory may be subordinate to a Bishop whose see is outside the frontiers of Poland. The republic is divided into five ecclesiastical provinces—Poznan, Wilno, Cracow, Warsaw and Lwow—conforming to the frontiers of the new State. The concordat recognized that the choice of Archbishops and Bishops reposes in the Holy See, but the Pope agreed to consult with the President of the republic before making such appointments; and before entering upon the duties of their offices the prelates will take an oath of fidelity to the Polish Republic in the presence of the President.

Final details of the issue of \$35,000,000 of Polish bonds were arranged when the Diet passed a special act early in March confirming the loan contract entered into with the firm of Dillon, Read & Co. Thereupon, representatives of the bankers met in Warsaw with the Polish Government for the exchange of final documents, and on March 11 the proceeds of the loan became available. In celebration of the event Premier Grabski tendered a dinner to the American Minister, Mr. Pearson, and representatives of the American colony in Poland.

Rumania

CONVINCED that little or no good could come of the economic conflict with Germany previously entered into with a view to more adequate indemnification for war losses, the Rumanian Government abandoned the effort early in March—at all events for the time being. It took advantage of the lull, however, to draw up a history of the whole affair in the form of a "Green Book," which was sent to the

Reparation Commission as a reply to the German note.

The British Government lodged strong protest against an emigration measure pending in the Rumanian Parliament at the end of March, declaring that if enacted into law it would drive the British steamship companies away from Rumanian ports. The bill gives a Government department power to fix emigrant passenger rates and determines transit routes, prohibits the companies from carrying on propaganda among prospective emigrants, abolishes the payment of agents' commissions for securing passengers and obliges all companies to pay a registration fee of 10,000 gold lei each. It also makes the companies subject to rigorous compensation claims, besides all the expenses of repatriation, if the emigrant is refused admission to the country of his destination. One of the purposes of the bill, it was believed, was to discourage the emigration of Transylvanians to America.

On March 8 the merging of the two important political parties headed by N. Iorga, the well-known historian, and Iulius Maniu was ratified by their respective congresses. The name of the new party, which opposes the present Government, is the Rumanian National Party.

Yugoslavia

THE Skupstina (Parliament) elected on Feb. 8 had its first sitting on March 7. Stormy scenes ensued when letters were read from sundry Opposition members who were at the time in prison, and when the Opposition Deputies in attendance, after lodging protest in behalf of their absent colleagues, withdrew from the chamber in a body. The Government parties and the German group decided to continue the session and elected their oldest member, M. Obradovitch, President. The four principal seceding parties—Democrats, Slovene Clericals, Mohammedans and Croat Peasants' Party—met on March 9 and organized a "bloc of national

understanding and peasant democracy," based on an agreement that the Croats would recognize Yugoslavia as a monarchy of the British type, while the remaining parties would accept the program of decentralization of administration. The Croats, accordingly, officially dropped the term "Republican" from their party nomenclature, and abandoned several of their extremer demands in addition.

On March 30 it was announced at Belgrade that the Yugoslav State tobacco monopoly had completed arrangements with a consortium of British banks for a loan of £1,000,000, secured on the tobacco monopoly stores, for the purpose of financing this year's crop. This was regarded as gratifying, since last year's loan for the same purpose was only \$300,000, for which the terms were more stringent.

Russia.

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

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ALEXIS I. RYKOV, President of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union, delivered the leading address on March 5 at Tiflis to the Central Executive Committee of the Union, or Soviet Federal Parliament, convened on March 1. It was the Premier's opportunity to state the problems and to justify the policies of the Communist authorities at Moscow, and the importance of the statement is undeniable. Declaring that the country had made steady economic progress, he cited the fact that the area sown to crops had increased since 1922 until it now approximated 80 per cent. of the pre-war area. In the Ukraine and in Siberia higher percentages of 97.5 and 96.1, respectively, had been attained. But the expansion of the sown area did not reveal adequately the development of agriculture in Soviet Russia. It had adapted itself notably during the last year to market conditions. There had been greater production for sale. Mr. Rykov gave figures to show that live stock raising had progressed as satisfactorily. Although he maintained that crop failures had prevented more rapid progress, he admitted that bad weather solely could not be blamed. Intelligent conduct of agriculture could offset somewhat the effects of unfavorable seasons.

In answer to the charges of "foreign White Guards" who endeavored to make the most of the fact that Soviet Russia had been obliged to import grain, Rykov gave statistics to show the extent of crop failures and of attendant measures for relief. Nearly 85,000,000 rubles had been expended by the Government in 1924 to alleviate distress from a crop failure only one-fourth the extent of the famine in 1921. A special commission, furthermore, had been appointed to devise means to keep the same acreage sown to crops and to supply peasants with seed grain. When Winter crops failed to meet expectations, 7,499,250 rubles were appropriated for resowing. The Government must give great consideration to agriculture for, said the Premier, "the fate of the entire economic situation during the coming year is bound up with the harvest."

Rykov then reviewed the industrial situation. The last year had opened with a sales depression, but it had ended with a shortage of merchandise. Demand had outrun production, notwithstanding the fact that industrial output had risen almost one-third. During the fiscal year of the metal industry (1923-24), he said, production of cast iron smeltings reached 16 per cent. of the pre-war total; steel, 23 per

cent. and rolled iron 20. Those percentages represented a substantial increase in metal products, yet the demand was not satisfied. The failure of the textile industry to meet the needs of the country was even more marked, although by October, 1924, it had reached 68 per cent. of its pre-war production. He interpreted this situation, in which supply was exceeded by demand, as an achievement of the Soviet régime. He said that it was the result of monetary reform by which a stable currency had been placed beneath the exchange of goods between urban and rural communities. His opponents, it may be said, might assert that he had not examined the relations of present to pre-war demand for manufactured goods; and they might further stress the fact that industry was still able to produce little more than 65 per cent. of its pre-war output.

The Premier next discussed the Soviet budget. "Until quite recently the foreign bourgeoisie could express itself against the conclusion of concession agreements and commercial and financial transactions," he said, "on the allegation that everything in our country flies into the abyss of the budget deficit." But now revenues, in which issues of paper money were not involved, actually exceeded expenditures. He indicated the likelihood of further surplus revenues before the next session of the Federal Parliament. Such a development, he insisted, was the result of a "general recuperation of our economic life, both rural and urban." From that statement he turned to the question of lightening the tax burden.

The agricultural tax, which concerned the peasant masses so directly, was now upon an entirely different plane. Rykov requested the acceptance of a resolution for a special committee, containing all peasant members of both chambers of Parliament. It should examine the question of a single agricultural tax with the intention of decreasing the assessments now bearing upon the rural districts. After brief allusions to technical problems of equipment and its re-

placement in industry, of substituting internal combustion for steam locomotion in the railroads, of electric power stations and canals, Rykov came back to the declaration that the great concern of the Soviet Government was the coming harvest.

The chief problem of the Communist leaders is, after all, the task of holding the peasant masses of Russia. The Premier said:

The economic situation completely alters not only the economic life of the rural regions, but also demands a new political approach to the new phenomena arising in the social life of the country districts. * * * The peasants' political activity has grown up on the new field of rural economic reconstruction, radically opposed to war-time communism. The rehabilitation of rural economy carries a large number of complications with it because the laws of capitalist accumulation still conserve their force in the country districts. When we say now, "Eyes toward the country," "More attention to the country"—we say it not because we have become kinder toward you, but because the rural situation is radically changing as compared with previous years. * * * We must now adopt every measure to reconstruct agricultural economy. Each homestead must be strengthened to such an extent that it will become ten times richer than at present. With the hungry, illiterate and benighted peasant we shall never build any sort of socialism through centuries and centuries. In order to attain this, in order to attain socialism, it is first of all indispensable to restore agriculture at any price. The mistake in this question arises because up to the present with respect to the rural regions there has been employed for the change of economic level the yardstick of war-time communism, the standard of a period when a substantial majority found itself in extreme want. This yardstick of war-time communism is now unsuitable, for the entire nation, the whole population, has grown much wealthier. It is necessary to correct the error in construing the word "kulak" (literally "fist"), to Communists, that hated class of rich peasants who lived by loaning money and leasing land to humbler folk. * * * The peasant who works and through the efforts of his family strengthens and rehabilitates his farm is not a kulak and cannot be considered a kulak. He is the best Soviet husbandman.

Rykov's words diverged sharply from pure Communist theory. His appeal

was for "each homestead." He commended the small peasant and his farm to the attention of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party. His summons was in behalf of "socialism" in preference to "war-time communism." He practically called for recognition of private property in rural districts and for admission of the peasants to an active part in government. He closed his exhortation with the following statement:

We now approach that stage in the development of our Government when it is less than ever before permissible to think that with the aid of a bureaucracy, even the best and most honest bureaucracy, and with the aid of our party nuclei (Communist), it is possible to proceed further with the work of organizing a socialist structure.

We have neared the period when the foundation of our party and the foundation upon which we must support ourselves in the active construction of our society, in the active construction of our economy and policy, must be expanded to such dimensions as to draw directly into the functioning organs millions of non-partisan workers and peasants. Only with such support shall we be able to cope with this task.

It is reasonable to assume that Rykov spoke from complete understanding with the powers that direct the policies of the Soviet Government. Whatever may be the personal differences of Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev, it seems fair to conjecture that the triumvirate were agreed upon the advisability of Rykov's utterances before the Soviet Federal Parliament at Tiflis. Taking into consideration only the mildest reports of agricultural distress and rural opposition to communism, we may well believe that Rykov expressed purposes that are actually in the minds of the Soviet authorities. If such conclusions are correct, it does not seem venturesome to assert that Soviet Russia is on the eve of as great a change in its organization, social and political, as marked the transition from war-time communism and exclusive State industry to the new economic policy of concessions to private capital for trade and economic enterprise.

The special commission appointed by

President Rykov to investigate conditions in the tiny Soviet Republic of Nakhitchevan submitted a preliminary report during March; the report charged high officials of Nakhitchevan with mismanagement of the affairs of the republic. Acting on information supplied by the commission, the Soviet Government caused the arrest of five People's Commissars and twenty-five other high State officials. It was alleged that the peasantry of Nakhitchevan had suffered acutely due to the maladministration of the republic.

Karl Radek, formerly a leading Communist and one of the founders of the Communist International, was stripped of all his powers within that organization under an order issued by the International on April 6; the action of the International was attributed to Radek's activities as an insurgent.

The returns in the elections for the Moscow Soviet, which closed on April 7, showed that 2,554 Communists and 1,308 members of other parties were elected, among them more than 900 women.

It was noted that the non-Communist parties will have 34 per cent. of the total membership of the new Moscow Soviet, as compared with 12.3 in the last one.

Reports came during the past month that bread lines were again forming in Leningrad. Communist papers admitted that 400,000 children were starving in the province of Kharkov and over 200,000 in the region of Odessa. The official Soviet estimate (March 20) placed the grain shortage until the next harvest at more than 50,000,000 poods (a pood equals 36.7 pounds). To meet this shortage, the Government expected to import 23,000,000 poods of grain and 15,000,000 of flour. It was said that the Government had been able to collect only 50 per cent. of the agricultural tax, which was supposed to yield 470,000,000 poods. It was ascertained that more than 5,000,000 acres of Winter crops had failed and had to be resown.

Soviet authorities announced to a conference of private business men April 1 that the ban on private trade

had been removed and that private capital would henceforth receive the same rights as State trusts and cooperative societies. On April 3 the Council of Labor and Defense, with Kameney presiding, decided to endeavor to encourage private capital in trade. The Government removed restrictions regarding payment for purchases in cash, which discriminated against private persons in favor of State industry and modified the system of taxes upon private trade; for, said Kameney, the dearth of trade in certain parts of Russia was more dangerous to the socialistic State than private capitalists. Dzerzhinsky, head of the Supreme Economic Council, gave his entire support to the new policy.

Butnov, Chief Political Commissar in the Red Army, was quoted as having said that 82 per cent. of the army's personnel were peasants. Only 11 per cent. were workmen and the remaining 7 per cent. were made up of other elements. There were only 45,000 Communists in its ranks, or 8 per cent. of its strength, but three-quarters of these were officers. Because of its peasant element, Butnov declared that the Red Army was particularly sensitive to opinion in the villages and therefore, he said, "it is now specially important to maintain proper discipline. This is the Communist Party's task."

The Soviet Government got judgment against the Sinclair Exploration Company and secured annulment of its concession in the northern part of the island of Sakhalin, but was ordered to

return to the company its guarantee of \$100,000. The decision of the Court analyzed every section of the agreement. The company had been obligated to begin work during the first year, but had not done so. The company could not claim that Japanese occupation of the island and interference with its engineers were extenuating circumstances, for it had previous knowledge of that occupation and had agreed to take its chances with such interference. The Court held that the Soviet Government had done everything in its power to help the company secure the benefits of its concession and that the Government never undertook to free the island from Japanese occupation so that the Sinclair company could begin operations. One month was granted for appeal to the higher court. For the first time in its history the Soviet Government canceled a contract with foreign commercial interests. An item in the contract, of more than passing interest, was to the effect that the Soviet would have right to cancel if within five years, expiring July 1, 1927, the Government of the United States failed to recognize Soviet Russia. Suit was not brought because the Sinclair concession lay in the oil-bearing areas which had been turned over to Japanese interests by the recent treaty, but it seems that Japan secured rights of exploration for natural resources in the region where lay a part at least of the Sinclair concession.

Nations of Northern Europe

THE new President of Finland, Mr. L. K. Relander, had hardly taken office and announced that he would follow the policies of his predecessor, thus signifying his intention to retain the same ministry, when the Government met defeat (March 18) over an electoral reform bill. The Swedes, Progressives and some Conservatives supported the Conservative ministry, head-

ed by Mr. Ingman, but the Agrarian Party, which had withdrawn its support in November, threw its weight against the reform bill and forced the ministry's resignation. Finland already had a system of proportional representation, but the reform bill was intended to give more power to the small Swedish and Progressive Parties. A new ministry, headed by Professor Antti Tulenheimo

(National Coalition Party) as Prime Minister, was formed with the more important posts held by Dr. G. Idman as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. A. Lampen, Minister of Defense, Mr. H. M. Relander, Minister of Finance, and Mr. Kyosti Kallio, Minister of Communications.

Esthonia

THE United States and Esthonia exchanged notes on March 3 to establish an agreement for unconditional most-favored-nation treatment with respect to customs duties and other charges affecting commerce. The United States made reservations only with regard to Cuba, the Canal Zone and its own territories and possessions. Esthonia reserved the right to accord other privileges to Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia and States in customs or economic union with Esthonia.

The Estonian Republic celebrated the seventh anniversary of its independence on Feb. 24. Guests of honor were the President of Latvia, J. Chakste, and Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League of Nations.

A railway conference began on March

16 at Reval between Esthonia, Latvia and Russia to arrange for better communications among the three countries.

Latvia

THE Latvian Government was reorganized. M. Gailits (New Farmers' faction) became Minister of Agriculture, a post temporarily occupied by Prime Minister Celmins. A. Kalnins (Democratic Centre) took the office of Minister of Education. P. Jurasevskis (Democratic Centre) became Minister of Justice.

Lithuania

SIR ERIC DRUMMOND also visited Latvia and Lithuania. At a luncheon in his honor President Stulginski of Lithuania intimated that the Lithuanian Government hoped some day to entertain the representatives of the League more appropriately in Vilna, the historic capital of Lithuania, now held by Poland. The Secretary of the League responded that it did not demand that any nation should renounce its national aspirations, but that the League's ideal was the maintenance of peace.—A. B. D.

Other Nations of Europe

By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT

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IN the absence of a Parliament, law-making in Spain is now proceeding by royal decree. On March 20 King Alfonso signed a new provincial statute which is in reality a constitutional amendment, although in part it repeals an act which was an organic change in the Constitution of 1876, likewise granted by royal proclamation. The new law, which was kept secret until the day of its announcement, leaves the administration of the forty-nine districts of Spain about as they were before, but

strikes at local combinations of unofficial legislatures which had been permitted, particularly in Catalonia. The privilege of having voluntary assemblies under the designation "Mancomunidad," which was granted to the Catalans in 1913 as a concession, in hopes of moderating the growing tendency toward separatism, enabled the four Catalan provinces of Barcelona, Tarragona, Lerida and Gerona to federate for certain administrative purposes and to become a legal unit. Much was done in

this way to promote education and provide for public health in Catalonia, and Barcelona prospered greatly.

The events of the past year and a half seem to show that so long as the King retains confidence in the Directory and the corps of officers remains disciplined, this military protectorate will be capable of carrying on indefinitely. The members of the Directory no longer talk about resignation, and the politicians are beginning to doubt their own prophecies that the Directory, if given enough rope, would hang itself. The leaders of the former political parties are inclined to modify their policy of abstention, and some of them have paid visits to the King. On the other hand, it is clear that, however much the previous conditions are reformed, a place must be found for former statesmen of ability if there is to be a peaceful resumption of ordinary government in the future. Censorship to a certain degree has already been relaxed.

Affairs in Morocco have been brought to no definite conclusion, although there have been rumors of proposals of peace. Slight skirmishes have been reported from time to time and the wide divergences of claims on both sides have prevented any permanent form of mutual possession of the country.

Portugal

THE recent change of Government has not produced quiet in the political life of Portugal. Actual revolutionary outbreaks have not gone far and the participants have been easily suppressed, but the fear of more serious activities of this kind has pervaded the atmosphere. Late in February the new Government appeared before Parliament with a declaration of policy, and the Prime Minister stated his intention of following the main features of the plans of the last Ministry. He said he would follow the policy of cementing the alliance with Great Britain, of strengthening the commercial ties between Portugal and Brazil and of improving economic relations with Spain. Imme-

diately afterward the Nationalist leader, Senhor Cunha Leal, brought forward a motion censuring the late Government for encouraging class warfare and disparaging the army and police. After attacking the President of the republic for summoning Senhor Guimaraes to form a Government without consulting the Nationalists, who had been mainly responsible for the fall of the late Government, he and all the Nationalist members left the Chamber.

On March 5 an attack was made on the military headquarters, but met with no success. Two officers were arrested and the Ministry of War was able to maintain order. Again, on March 15, it was anticipated that a revolutionary attempt would be made after midnight, and the Cabinet was in session half the night to be in readiness. Early in the morning of March 16 groups formed in several parts of the city but were dispersed by the rifle fire of the guards and police. Preventive measures have been in operation for some time. Enemies of the Government have been arrested daily, while police and national guards were, for a time at least, established at posts in the principal streets to examine the papers of all night travelers.

Switzerland

THE question of permitting public gambling establishments in Switzerland has often been agitated and answered in different ways. By many business interests it has been looked upon as an attraction to tourists, and sometimes the contributions of the casinos to local taxation have been irresistible arguments in their favor. A national plebiscite upon a proposed law resulted in a vote against the continuance of licensed gambling, but by a counter-initiative the matter was referred to the National Council for decision. This body was evenly divided, but by the casting vote of the President the plebiscite was sustained and gambling casinos are now prohibited.

Holland

ON April 3 the Dutch and Belgian Foreign Ministers signed a new convention which settles a controversy of many years' standing over the treaty of 1839 regulating navigation on the Scheldt. This agreement provides that the Scheldt shall be closed to warships in war time but shall be open to all other vessels both in war and peace times. A new and more efficient joint board, to replace the Commissioners provided for in the old treaty, will exercise supervision both over the Scheldt and the Terneuzen Canal. The question of the contested Dutch claim to sovereignty over the Weilingen channel was declared to lie outside the scope of the new convention, both Holland and Belgium maintaining their irreconcilable claims. Relations between the two countries had been particularly strained over this question since 1920, but during the second assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva discussions between Van Karnebeeck and his Belgian colleague, Jaspar, were followed by negotiations which led to this happy result.

On March 16 the Senate, without discussion, adopted a bill ratifying the Dutch-American treaty of Aug. 21, 1924, giving the United States the right to search Dutch vessels outside the three-mile zone.

Denmark

SERIOUS industrial disturbances were threatened in Denmark during March. A wholesale lockout was expected in margarine factories, all mills, cement factories, iron and metal works and sugar factories. For weeks operators and employes were engaged in negotiations over a new wage agreement, apparently in vain. A printing trade dispute threatened to tie up the newspapers, but this strike was avoided. Government arbitrators were unable to deal with the situation. Prime Minister Stauning and Social Minister Borgberg

intervened and endeavored to persuade the employes to postpone the lockout. But the news of March 31 was to the effect that still more industries, including the building trades, were to be included, and already 100,000 men were affected.

Dr. Max Henius, internationally known as a consulting chemist to the fermentation interests, recently interviewed in Chicago on the subject of temperance in the Scandinavian countries, claimed to have statistics known only to a few high officials in those countries. These figures showed that the percentage of arrests for drunkenness to the population of the great cities had increased where absolute prohibition prevailed by law. Dr. Henius held bootleggers accountable for the high figures. Copenhagen showed the lowest percentage of all, although it was the only city which is wide open. This condition was attributed to the exceedingly high tax laid upon all alcoholic liquors in Denmark, so that "the average man's pocketbook takes care of his thirst."

Norway

THE labor dispute which menaced industrial conditions for some weeks was settled by an agreement between employers and workers to accept the arbitration proposal submitted by the Government mediator. According to this agreement 65,000 workmen in twenty-six branches of industry obtained a wage increase amounting to 9 per cent. The wage scales were continued in operation for one year.

The Norwegian explorer, Captain Roald Amundsen, and his American partner, Lieutenant Lincoln Ellsworth, engineer and aviator, left Oslo on March 31 for Tromsø in the northern part of Norway to begin their attempt to reach the North Pole by airplane.

Kuhn, Loeb & Co., the New York banking house, stated on April 6 that bonds to the amount of \$7,500,000 would be shortly issued for the city of Oslo.

Sweden

THE death of ex-Premier Hjalmar Branting caused no change in the composition of the Cabinet, except the addition of Carl Emil Svensson, former head of the National Liquor Board, as Minister of Commerce in place of Rickard Sandler, who continued as Premier and nominal head of the Social-Democratic Party organization pending the next general convention. Upon the recovery of his health F. V. Thorsson resumed his post as Minister of Finance.

The Government bill to reduce the country's defense burden proposed to cut down the annual expense to about 96,000,000 kronor, or about 42,000,000 kronor less than the provisional system in force since the World War and 85,000,000 kronor less than the cost of completely carrying out the plans formulated in 1914. The number of army corps the Government proposed to reduce from six to four, the infantry regiments from thirty to eighteen, and artillery from six to three. Cavalry was eliminated as a separate arm, but on the other hand, aviation was put under a separate command. The army's permanent personnel the Government proposed to reduce by 1,045 officers, 1,006 non-commissioned officers and 7,165 platoon commanders and privates. The bill also provided for shorter periods of compulsory service.

Sweden passed quietly through a long-threatening labor conflict, the lock-out of some 130,000 workmen in four leading industries, those of lumber, paper, machinery and textiles. In an effort to reduce wages the National Employers' Association authorized a general lockout, only to have it repeatedly postponed because of the mediation ef-

forts of a special board appointed by the Government. Finally, the employers agreed to accept the proposals of the mediation board, but the workers refused, demanding maintenance of the status quo in wages. During the two weeks the crisis lasted there were practically no disorders, and the Communist proposal to declare a general strike as a counter-measure was rejected by the regular trades union members. Efforts at mediation continued, a compromise was reached and work was immediately resumed.

The Riksdag voted to change the Constitution so as to require open voting in the legislative sessions. This innovation went into immediate effect.

The value of the Nobel prizes for this year was announced to be 118,165 kronor, or about \$31,936.

While Sweden has a population but slightly in excess of 6,000,000, no less than 780,000 native-born Swedes live outside its border, the Royal Bureau of Statistics announced. Of these, 625,000 are located in the United States, 30,000 in Canada, 50,000 in Norway and 36,000 in Denmark. At the same time the number of foreign-born inhabitants in Sweden itself is but 57,832, or less than 1 per cent., so that ethnically the country's population is remarkably homogeneous.

Both the Swedish postal service and the State-owned railroads were run at a profit during 1924. The postal profits were 13,800,000 kronor, or 600,000 kronor more than had been anticipated. The State-owned railroads earned a profit of 36,200,000 kronor. The fares on special fast trains and on sleeping-car accommodations, as well as freight rates on bulky goods, have been reduced.

Turkey and the Near East

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

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FIGHTING continued throughout March in Kurdistan. Harpoot was pillaged at the beginning of the month. A few days later a fierce attack upon Diarbekir was repulsed with heavy losses. At the end of the month the insurgents were reported to have taken Mush and Melazkert (also spelled Manzikert). The last named town was the scene in 1071 A. D. of the decisive battle which gave Asia Minor to the Turks. During the first week of April the rebels suffered serious defeats and on April 5 they were compelled to evacuate three Vilayets of Arghana. General Ismet Pasha, the Prime Minister, discussed the rebellion in an address before the Turkish National Assembly at Angora on April 8; he said that the situation, though grave, was rapidly improving; he also disclosed that the rebellion had necessitated a complete mobilization of Turkey's military forces.

The budget committee of the Assembly approved the Government's request for \$5,000,000 with which to suppress the revolt. It was reported that three Turkish battalions were withdrawn from eastern Thrace and sent to Kurdistan. It was affirmed at Constantinople at the end of March that the Turkish troops were making progress in encircling the Kurds. Special courts or "tribunals of independence" were created to try persons connected with the Kurdish revolt. A retired colonel was condemned to seven years' imprisonment for declaring at Adana that religion forbade firing upon brothers-in-arms, and for other utterances considered favorable to the Kurds.

Henri Franklin-Bouillon, who negotiated the Franco-Turkish Actord of 1921, has again visited Angora and, according to some correspondents, has virtually concluded an agreement which would put into force those elements of the accord most favorable to Turkey. The accord provided in Article VII a special administrative régime in the Alexan-

dretta region, facilities for the Turkish inhabitants to develop their culture, and an official status for the Turkish language. A proclamation of General Sarraïl published at Beirut on Jan. 27 declared these stipulations in force. The district is known by the old Turkish name of Liva and the Governor by the title of Mutessarif. It was further provided that Turkey and France should each have the right to transport troops over portions of the Bagdad railway which are in the territories of either of these States.

The Straits Commission which has charge of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles under the treaty of Lausanne has been constituted as follows: President, Vasif Bey, representing Turkey; other members: General Markov for Bulgaria, Henry Cambon for France, Commander Miura for Japan, Commander MacDonald for Great Britain, Capt. Meletopoulos for Greece, M. Serra for Italy, and M. Filaty for Rumania.

The British, French and Italian Governments decided to appoint ambassadors to Turkey, but residing in Constantinople, and visiting Angora only when need arises, with liaison officers resident permanently in the Turkish capital. The Turks were not pleased with the decision that the Ambassadors should reside in Constantinople, instead of the capital of the country to which they are accredited.

Early in March a number of newspapers in Constantinople and the provinces were suspended in order to calm the situation and repress the religious incitement to rebellion.

Egypt

THE election having resulted in a majority for the Wafd party, of which Zaghlul Pasha is chief, the Government dissolved the new Parliament, ordered another election and announced its intention of modifying the electoral law.

The first announcement of the election was followed by the reorganization of the Cabinet in a way to include all the anti-Wafd elements. The Cabinet was reconstituted as follows:

AHMED PASHA ZIWAR—Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

YEHA PASHA IBRAHIM—Finance.

ISMAIL PASHA SIRRY—Public Works.

ISMAIL PASHA SIDKY—Interior.

YUSEF PASHA CATTANI—Communications.

GENERAL MUSA PASHA FUAD—Army and Navy.

ALY BEY MAHER—Education.

ABDEL AZIZ BEY FAHMY—Justice.

MOHAMMED BEY ALY—Religious Endowments.

TEWFIK BEY DOSS—Agriculture.

The new Parliament was opened with great ceremony on March 23. Premier Ziwar Pasha read the speech from the throne, in which was reiterated the deep regret felt by the Government for the death of Sir Lee Stack, and its best hope that the assassins would soon receive their merited punishment. The Parliament then elected Zaghlul Pasha its President by a vote of 123 against 85. Zaghlul declared that as President of the Chamber he represented no particular party. Nine hours after the assembling of Parliament, Ziwar Pasha and his Ministers entered the house and read a decree dissolving Parliament. New elections were fixed for May 23, the Chamber to meet on June 1. If the existing electoral scheme in Egypt registers even approximately the will of the people, the Government of Ziwar Pasha is not that desired by Egypt. It rests upon the scarcely concealed support of the British garrisons in Cairo and Alexandria. Zaghlul Pasha, twice exiled from Egypt by direct British action, is now kept out of office by indirect British influence.

An interesting case has been brought before the Cairo Mixed Court concerning the late Joseph Wingate Folk, at one time Governor of Missouri. In Paris in the Summer of 1919 Zaghlul interested Folk in promoting propaganda in the United States in favor of Egyptian independence. Later, Moham-

med Mahmud Pasha, on behalf of Zaghlul, visited America and contracted with Folk to pay him \$5,000 monthly during the fight for Egyptian freedom, \$100,000 if he should have to plead before the League of Nations, and \$500,000 if his efforts should be finally successful in securing Egyptian independence. Folk, who served Zaghlul from July, 1919, until Jan. 30, 1921, died in 1923, and his widow began suit, claiming that her husband never received any payment for his services, but only about \$5,000 to meet propaganda expenses. She claimed \$90,000 as salary for eighteen months, and \$500,000 because the British declaration of Feb. 28, 1922, was to the effect that Egypt was an independent and sovereign State. The answer of the Wafd asserts that Folk was paid in advance for his services, that Mahmud was not authorized to make the contract, and that Folk's activities did not in any way assist Egypt's fight for independence.

Palestine

GREAT excitement was aroused and continued through the month of March by the arrangement that the Earl of Balfour attend the inauguration exercises of the Jewish University on April 1. Two weeks before Lord Balfour's arrival the Palestine Arab executive issued a spirited declaration in which they protested vigorously against his visit, counting him the author of many woes to the Arabs through the declaration associated with his name. All Arab workmen, students and school children were earnestly urged to go on strike, and the students of the Government's Training College for Teachers asked permission to be absent on March 25, the day of Lord Balfour's arrival. This being refused, the students held a demonstration and left the college. Thereupon the Director of Education ordered the college closed indefinitely.

Lord Balfour spent his first days in Palestine visiting historical spots and the Jewish colonies. In his addresses he commended the work of the Jews, and said that he was nothing more than

a zealous and sincere friend of Zionism. The declaration to which his name had been given

was not the declaration of an individual expressing his opinion, nor that of a country on behalf of its opinion; it was the deliberate opinion of the European and American peoples, not the conviction of a single humble individual like myself or even that of the great British nation. It represents the conviction of the great international body of opinion which signed the Versailles Treaty; in fact, it is the declared policy of the civilized world, which I believe will never be reversed.

The Hebrew University has a splendid site on Mount Scopus, which is the northern extension of the Mount of Olives. The outlook eastward is over the Jordan valley and the north half of the Dead Sea, with the hills of Moab beyond. Westward lie the city and suburbs of Jerusalem. No new university buildings have as yet been constructed. A former private house is being enlarged and adapted. A microbiological and biochemical laboratory is being set up. Three professors give six lectures per week. The students, who number about 100, are mostly school teachers. The ultimate aims of the university are to provide advanced education for the Palestinian Jews, fresh opportunities for Jewish professors and students who are squeezed out of universities in European countries, and a world centre for Jewish culture.

After opening the Hebrew University Lord Balfour traveled through northern Palestine and Syria. The French Government of Syria requested Syrians to abstain from criticism of the guest, who represented a friendly power.

Syria

GENERAL SARRAIL, newly appointed French High Commissioner for Syria, arrived at Beirut on Jan. 2. In contrast with his predecessors in the office of High Commissioner in Syria, he is disposed to be anti-clerical. Before leaving France, General Sarrail stated that he regarded Syria as neither a colony nor a protectorate, but a country under a mandate which could be summarized in two words: aid and advice.

This did not mean, however, that Syria was to have autonomy. The first duty of France should be to assure for Syria external and internal security. As regards religious questions, he declared himself as simply tolerant: All beliefs should be respected, and the most absolute impartiality should be shown to all religious groups.

On his arrival, General Sarrail offended the Pope's representative in Syria, Mgr. Giannini, by refusing to be present at a religious ceremony, which it had been customary for French consular officers to attend and which was considered by many to be symbolic of the ancient French protectorate over Roman Catholics in Turkey. When the Maronite Patriarch called upon the High Commissioner, and affirmed the unchanging attachment of the Maronites to France, the High Commissioner assured him that France would not change toward those who did not change. He then neglected to follow the precedent of returning the Patriarch's call without delay. Popular agitation, which had begun as soon as General Sarrail's appointment was announced, was greatly increased by these acts.

Inasmuch as the Governor of the Greater Lebanon, General Vandenberg, was not satisfactory to General Sarrail, the latter assembled the Representative Council of the Greater Lebanon on Jan. 5, and requested them to submit to him three names of Lebanese citizens as candidates for Governor, the plan being that when he had approved three names, the Council might choose between them. The Council declined to do this, asserting that it was necessary first to have a constitution defining the powers of Governor and Council. On Jan. 12 General Sarrail dissolved the Council, appointed M. Cayla, a Frenchman, as Governor, and ordered the election of a new Council.

The New High Commissioner on Jan. 10 raised the state of siege which had been in force continuously since the arrival of the allied troops in 1918.

M. Simon reported recently to the French Chamber on the budget of For-

eign Affairs as regards Syria. He stated that the expenses for military purposes had fallen from 748,000,000 francs in 1921 to 210,000,000 francs in 1924, while the expenses of the civil administration had also decreased very considerably.

Lord Balfour's arrival in Damascus on April 10 was made the occasion of a riotous demonstration and threats against his life by Arabs. Only by evading the crowds and by the intervention of the military forces was the situation saved. Lord Balfour and his party were escorted by a military guard to Beirut, from which port, on April 12, the British statesman and his party sailed on the steamer Sphinx for Alexandria, Egypt.

Iraq

CONSIDERABLE alarm has been expressed in some quarters at Bagdad and London regarding the concentration of Turkish troops north of Iraq for the suppression of the Kurdish revolt. Turkey was expected to have 100,000 men under arms near the Mosul frontier by midsummer.

The Turkish Petroleum Company on March 28 signed a new convention with the Iraq Government. This provides for the exploitation of petroleum deposits throughout the entire country, except in the vilayet of Basra, for a period of seventy-five years. As now organized this company assembles four groups of oil producers, representing four countries, namely, the Anglo-Persian, the Royal Dutch-Shell, a group of seven American companies (including the Standard Oil) and a group of sixty-five French companies. The combined capital amounts to about \$5,000,000,000. It is clear that this arrangement creates powerful friends in several countries for the continuance of British control over Mesopotamia.

Iraq is suffering from a serious shortage of grain and fodder owing to the poor harvests of last year and an invasion of locusts in the Mosul vilayet. Besides this, the Winter rains were unusually late, and the cold of the Winter

was the severest since official records were first instituted, in 1888..

Sir Samuel Hoare, the British Air Minister, and L. S. Amery, Colonial Secretary, have been visiting Iraq, presumably to consider to what extent an air force, which is the sole arm which the British possess in that country, can be expected to withstand invasion. Lieut. Commander Hilton Young preceded Messrs. Amery and Hoare on a mission to inquire into the finances of Iraq. There is at present no Financial Adviser to the Iraq Government.

The Mosul Frontier Commission, appointed by the League of Nations to inquire into the Mosul question, continued its study of this problem. The Commission began the investigation immediately upon its arrival at Mosul on Jan. 27.

Persia

THE Parliament adopted a resolution appointing Riza Khan, the Prime Minister, known also as Sardar Sepah, Supreme Chief of all the Persian forces, with full powers under the law and responsible to the Parliament alone. Riza Khan then invited the Shah to return to Persia, from which he has been absent since November, 1923. The Prime Minister also asked the Parliament to appoint a commission of twelve Deputies who should confer with the Government in regard to economic reforms needed for the progress of the country.

A German mission has visited Teheran, representing a large number of Germans who desire to settle in Persia. They affirm their desire to become citizens of Persia, separating themselves entirely from Germany. They have been considering a long-time lease or grant of 2,000 villages distributed in different parts of Persia and also the introduction of the most modern agricultural implements.

The Parliament passed, on March 20, a compulsory enlistment bill, which is expected to increase the standing army greatly. The American advisers have been urging the advance of the tax bills, which are necessary if the budget is to be balanced.

The Far East

By PAYSON J. TREAT

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China

THE death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in Peking on March 12 removed from the political arena the best-known revolutionary leader of China. Organizer of the anti-Manchu and Republican forces, he became the first President of the Provisional Republic in 1911. When he stood aside to permit Yuan Shih-kai, the experienced administrator, to become Chief Executive, his fame seemed secure. The events of the subsequent thirteen years, however, have given grounds for doubt as to the constructive ability and the unselfish patriotism of the great leader. His presence in Peking marked the alliance of hitherto hostile factions—of Tuan Chi-jui, for many years denounced by Dr. Sun as the chief enemy of the Republic; of Marshal Chang of Manchuria and of Dr. Sun, leader of the Kuomintang or People's Party. How long such an alliance could continue was one of the problems of Chinese politics. The body of Dr. Sun, on April 2, was placed temporarily in one of the temples in the western hills, some nine miles from Peking, to be removed later to Nanking, the old southern capital, where Dr. Sun was installed as President of the Provisional Republic in 1911. The leader's last wish, that he be buried in a bronze crystal coffin like "his friend Lenin," went unfulfilled, for the casket hurriedly ordered from Moscow proved quite unsuitable. Memorial services held in Canton, Dr. Sun's recent capital, were attended by many thousands of his followers.

The Reorganization Conference, which convened in Peking on Feb. 1, was formally opened on Feb. 13; the sessions, which continued into March, were marked by unusual secrecy. The agenda for the conference included subjects of immense import which would require much time for consideration and decision. For example, for the second

business meeting the following subjects were announced: (1) Draft regulations to govern the National Conference (which is to follow the Reorganization Conference); (2) disbandment of superfluous troops; (3) disposal of the disbanded men; (4) establishment of precautionary forces or town guards; (5) opium. During the progress of the conference Chief Executive Tuan submitted a plan for military adjustment as follows: (1) Reducing of the present disproportionate military expenditure to one-third of the whole of the national revenue, as outlined in the national budget; (2) limitation of the total number of troops to 500,000; (3) these two questions to be discussed by a special Troops Disbandment Commission. Political observers felt that the finding of a workable solution of the soldier problem would be a tremendous contribution to the welfare of China, but they also recognized that the difficulties in the way of this happy outcome were very great.

The fact that a reorganization conference was in session at Peking failed to effect a cessation of the local hostilities; fighting occurred in several parts of China; no major clash, however, was reported.

Hsuang Tung, the former Chinese Emperor, continued a resident of Tientsin, to which city he fled after his escape from the custody of General Yuhsiang's soldiers. The former Manchu ruler made numerous statements to press correspondents; on Feb. 23 he told of the formation of an association the avowed aim of which was to effect his assassination. In later interviews he expressed a wish to go to the United States to study at an American university; it was stated on April 7 by officials of the American Department of State at Washington that the American Government would interpose no objection to the former Emperor's admittance for the purpose of study.

The visit of the Panchen Lama aroused much interest in Peking. The equal in ecclesiastical rank of the Dalai Lama, the Panchen or Tashi Lama is subordinate to the former in temporal power. The two ecclesiastical dignitaries are political rivals in Tibet. The Dalai Lama is the head of the party which stands for modernization and good relations with the Indian Government, while the Panchen Lama is leader of the conservative and hence more pro-Chinese faction. The success of the Dalai Lama has resulted in the virtual expulsion of his rival.

An aftermath of the victory of the Fengtien (Manchurian) troops about Shanghai was the demand for \$2,000,000 (silver) for their support. This, it was announced, would be raised by the "loan" of one month's rent from every house in Shanghai native city and Wootung. "Debenture bonds" were to be issued for the "loan."

Foochow was the centre of an active anti-American feeling, aimed at the missionary schools and colleges and at certain trading houses. Chinese who sent their children to the foreign schools were mobbed and native shops handling imported fish were wrecked. In the Canton region a movement was inaugurated to place all elementary education under State control and thus eliminate missionary schools of this grade. The very effective Canton Christian College would not be affected.

Japan

THE formal closing of the Imperial Diet on April 1 brought to an end an epoch-making session. Adjournment was postponed three times in order that an agreement might be reached between the two houses on the manhood suffrage bill. A compromise measure was adopted on March 29, in both houses by large majorities; in the House of Peers there were but three dissenting votes.

Tense scenes marked the progress of this important measure, which extends

the suffrage to about 11,000,000 voters, and increases the franchise holders to about 14,000,000. The bill passed the House of Representatives on March 2 and in a modified form the House of Peers approved it on March 26. Action in the upper house was delayed because of a conflict over the budget and the bill for reforming the House of Peers. For several days the conferees appointed by the two houses could not agree; and a Cabinet crisis appeared imminent; on the night of March 28, however, a satisfactory compromise was reached and the bill was passed the next day. The Peers favored an amendment which would have denied suffrage to males receiving family or public support and thus would have considerably reduced the number of men voters. In the compromise the Peers receded from their position, and under the terms of the bill only those receiving public support are denied the franchise. Unless an extraordinary election should be called, the first election under the new law will take place in 1928. To appreciate the significance of this extension of the franchise, the reader should consider the recent important step taken in this direction by the Government of Japan: In 1890 the property qualification for the suffrage was the payment of fifteen yen direct national taxes; in 1900 this was reduced to ten yen; in 1919 to three yen; and in 1925 the property qualification was altogether removed.

An unexpected aftermath of the passage of the suffrage bill was the announcement on April 4 by Minister of Commerce Takahashi that he intended to resign. Takahashi notified Premier Kato to this effect; the Minister, who is the head of the Seiyukai Party, also announced that he intended to give up the party leadership. Takahashi's action was seen as a serious blow to the Kato Government; the defection was attributed directly to the enactment of the suffrage measure, which had been strenuously opposed by the Seiyukai Party.

Another important action of Parliament was the approval by both houses

of a "peace preservation" act providing imprisonment for various kinds of communistic activity, such as membership in any organization opposed to the organic system of Japan, the discussion of such matters in open meeting, or the bribery of others to advocate or work for communistic ends.

The Alien Land law was passed by the upper house on March 16, and the upper house on March 25 passed a bill effecting reform within its own organization; among the provisions of the latter bill is one removing the necessity for a majority of Peers in that house. At the present time only a little more than one-fifth of the Peers have seats in this house, while a very large group is made up of commoners appointed "for service" to the State or "for erudition."

"Women's Emancipation Day" was observed throughout Japan on March 11. Meetings were held, literature distributed and several bills designed to

increase the political rights of women were introduced in the House of Representatives. Among these measures were proposals for women's suffrage, for the election of women to municipal and ward assemblies, recognition of the right of women to attend political meetings and to organize political parties and the elevation of women's educational institutions to the same level as those of men.

The Anglo-Japanese conventional tariff became invalid on March 10 and British imports under the several schedules became subject to the statutory tariff of Japan. In every case there was a very considerable increase in the rate of duty. Conventional tariffs are still found in some of the European treaties, but they are reciprocal, and carry concessions in duties on Japanese imports. The British conventional tariff could not give Japan any equivalent advantage because Great Britain is virtually a free-trade country.

International Events

By ROBERT McELROY

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ITALY by appointing Francesco Cappa as her delegate to the League of Nations injected an open and professed enemy into its councils. Nor has he indicated the least change of heart since his appointment. His philosophy, according to a Milan dispatch of Feb. 26, has been formulated in these words: "The League exists, and it constitutes a grave danger for Italy. We must defend ourselves; we must defend ourselves in Geneva. We must defend the rights of Italy from the snares which are laid for her within the League. This is the Nationalist and Fascist way of interpreting the task of the Italian delegate."

The Council of the League of Nations, in session at Geneva, decided on March 10 that no special favors would

be attached to German entrance into the League. The decision was reached after a careful discussion of the German Foreign Minister's suggestions regarding the conditions under which Germany might be willing to seek membership. These conditions were: first, that Germany be assured beforehand of a place on the League Council; second, that she be not called on for any military duties under Article XVI. of the covenant, and, third, that she be never asked to allow passage through her territory of troops acting for the League. Not as a special favor, but as an act of justice and prudence, however, the Council decided that Germany's claims to a seat in the council would be favorably regarded when she had entered the League.

THE GENEVA PROTOCOL

The chief interest at the Council meeting, however, was not Germany but the Geneva Protocol. On March 10 The London Times printed an article foreshadowing the British attitude. "The protocol," it said, "will not serve its all-embracing purpose and cannot by any of the most ingenious amendments be made to live. Britain, after mature consideration and close consultation with the dominions, can accept the protocol only with such radical amendments as would reduce it in fact to a mere statement of pious aspirations."

Pending the discussion of the protocol, the leaders of the British and the French delegations, Austen Chamberlain and Aristide Briand, on March 11 debated the question of establishing a neutralized zone along the Rhine, advanced by France as the most feasible method of insuring her eastern frontier. The French position, strongly presented by Briand, was that the League should constitute a permanent body, headed by a French General, which should sit constantly on the Rhine and see that the neutrality of the demilitarized zone be observed, reporting immediately to the council any violation or threatened violation. Chamberlain took the position that what the treaty intended was that if any power suspected danger of violation of the zone it could ask for a League investigation, but that it was never intended to set up a permanent Rhineland institution.

The British Foreign Secretary on March 12 made his eagerly awaited pronouncement upon the protocol. It was not a personal, but a national declaration, read by Chamberlain, but prepared largely by others, and for that reason it was a document of unusual importance. After declaring that though successive British Governments favored arbitration the present Government saw insuperable objections to signing and ratifying the protocol in its present shape, he said:

It is declared that the object of the protocol is to facilitate disarmament, and it proposes

to attain this most desirable end (1) by closing certain gaps in the scheme originally laid down in the Covenant forcibly settling international disputes and (2) by sharpening sanctions, especially economic sanctions, by which under the existing system, aggression is to be discouraged and aggressors coerced. * * *

As all the world is aware, the League of Nations in its present shape is not the League designed by the framers of the Covenant. They no doubt contemplated, and as far as they could provided against, difficulties that might arise from the non-inclusion of a certain number of States within the circle of the League membership. But they never supposed that among these States would be found so many of the most powerful nations in the world, least of all did they foresee that one of them would be the United State of America. * * *

Surely it is most unwise to add to the liabilities already incurred without taking stock of the degree to which the machinery of the Covenant has been already weakened by non-membership of certain great States.

In truth the change, especially as regards economic sanctions, amounts to transformation. Economic sanctions, if simultaneously directed by all the world against a State which is not itself economically self-sufficing, would be a weapon of incalculable power. This, or something not very different from this, was the weapon originally devised by the authors of the Covenant. To them it appeared to be not only bloodless but cheap, effective and easy to use in the most improbable event of its use being necessary.

But all this is changed by the mere existence of powerful economic communities outside the limits of the League. It might force trade into unaccustomed channels, but it could hardly stop it, and though the offending State would no doubt suffer, there is no presumption that it would be crushed, or even that it would suffer most.

Chamberlain next cited objections to subsidiary clauses of the protocol, particularly Articles 7 and 8, because of the impossibility of defining defensive military movements. Clause 15, providing that an aggressor State pay all the costs of the war for which it is responsible, was also subjected to criticism on the ground that generalities could not be embodied in dogmas of inflexible rigidity. Chamberlain continued:

The protocol purports to be little more than the completion of the work begun, but

not perfected, by the authors of the Covenant. But the additions which it makes to the original document do something quite different from merely clarifying obscurities and filling in omissions; they destroy its balance and alter its spirit. The fresh emphasis laid upon sanctions, new occasions discovered for their employment and the elaboration of military procedure insensibly suggest the idea that the vital business of the League is not so much to promote friendly cooperation and reasoned harmony in the management of international affairs as to preserve peace by organizing war, and it may be war on the largest scale. * * * Anything which fosters the idea that the main business of the League is with war rather than with peace, is likely to weaken it in its fundamental task of diminishing the causes of war without making it in every respect a satisfactory instrument for organizing great military operations should the necessity for them be forced upon the world.

It is not the possibility of attack through the alleged weak places in the Covenant which haunts the imagination of those who hesitate to disarm. They do not doubt that the Covenant, if kept, would be sufficient to protect them, at least from attack by those who signed it. What they doubt is whether, when it comes to the point, the Covenant would be kept. Either some faithless members of the League would break its pledges or some predatory nation outside the League will brush the Covenant and protocol ruthlessly aside, defying all the sanctions by which they are protected. Brute force is what they fear, and only brute force enlisted in their defense can, as they believe, give them the security of which they feel the need.

Is it to be supposed that the security promised by the new system will be so complete that no armaments capable of being used or improvised for offensive purposes will remain in being? If not, is the balance of power between the States who desire peace and those who are plotting war to be adjusted in favor of the former? If so, on what principle? If not, then how are we advanced? How will unscrupulous aggressors be relatively weakened? How will their potential victims be rendered more capable of defense? * * *

The British Government does not agree that without sanctions the League is powerless and treaties no better than waste paper. Every sanction referred to either in the Covenant or the protocol depends on treaties, and if no treaties are of value all sanctions must be worthless. Do what we will, we have no choice but in the last resort to depend upon the plighted word, but this, it must be admitted,

does not settle the question whether the sanctions contemplated by the Covenant cannot, in certain cases and for certain purposes, be supplemented with advantage to the general scheme of the Covenant itself. * * *

The first expedient that naturally suggests itself is to strengthen the provisions of the Covenant. If the Covenant as it stands does not supply adequate machinery for preserving peace in all conceivable cases, why not keep after it till it does? The futility of this plan is, in the opinion of his Majesty's Government, abundantly proved by the protocol, for whatever else its proposals give us they do not give us security. They multiply offenses but do nothing to strengthen remedies. They increase the responsibilities undertaken by individual members of the League but do nothing to readjust their burden. * * *

Since the general provisions of the Covenant cannot be stiffened with advantage and since the extreme cases with which the League may have to deal will probably affect certain nations or groups of nations more nearly than others, his Majesty's Government concludes that the best way of dealing with the situation is with the cooperation of the League to supplement the Covenant by making special arrangements in order to meet special needs.

That these arrangements should be purely defensive in character; that they should be framed in the spirit of the Covenant, working in close harmony with the League and under its guidance, is manifest, and in the opinion of his Majesty's Government these objects can best be attained by knitting together the nations most immediately concerned and whose differences might lead to a renewal of strife, by means of treaties framed with the sole object of maintaining as between themselves unbroken peace.

Speaking on behalf of the French Government, Mr. Briand said:

I do not believe that putting lightning rods on a house creates lightning, but always thought it was a wise precaution. What we tried to do with the protocol was to put on the edifice of peace the best lightning rods that humans could devise against the terrible lightning of war. But to say we did nothing good is to exaggerate. * * *

It is certain that while great nations are outside the League that will be a cause of weakness for the League. But the more the League shows confidence in itself, the more it works, the more it will exercise on peoples and Governments the pressure which will oblige them to join in. So in sharing the expressions of regret that the Government of the United States is not among us, I do not lose

hope that it will come under the influence of this wave of idealism. No country more than the United States is accessible to idealism, and furthermore the United States, in entering the League of Nations, will also be acting under a reasonable interpretation of her own interests. * * *

What is beautiful and noble and magnificent in the protocol is that it ignores which are great, which are little and which are medium nations. It considers all as having the same rights to security. It tries to give it to them without distinction of size or importance, to permit them to work in peace, in independence and in union. It is that characteristic of the protocol which brought the spontaneous adhesion of my country. * * *

I am charged to declare in the name of my Government that it rests clearly attached to the protocol, but will refuse no discussion to improve it.

A system of alliances is foreseen in the protocol. If it is the best way to insure peace, so much the better.

Other addresses followed, but enough had been said to make it quite clear that Great Britain was to be counted out upon the protocol, and that was generally accepted as its death knell.

The British Labor Party, however, declined to consider the protocol dead. Ramsay MacDonald, speaking at Fulham, London, on March 14, proudly claimed Labor as the father of the protocol, and brought a storm of cheers from his audience with the words: "The protocol is dead; long live the protocol!"

Negotiations were continued between the British and French Governments on the subject of a new security treaty covering the Rhineland, Germany having suggested that she might consent to recognize the paramount importance to France, Belgium and Great Britain of the maintenance of the status quo on the Rhine, but only in case she herself should be included in the discussions upon the subject.

On the way home from Geneva, Mr. Chamberlain discussed that general problem with Premier Herriot. "Although," said a London dispatch of March 20, "M. Herriot had originally stated the admission of Germany to the League was a *conditio sine qua non* for

discussion of the proposed pact of guarantee, he accepted the British point of view to the extent of agreeing it was desirable to take steps to establish, through regular diplomatic channels, the views of the two Governments on the German memorandum.

A Paris dispatch of March 21, added: "Premier Herriot obtained from Mr. Chamberlain a promise that the prime condition for making a compact with the Reich would be Berlin's joining the League of Nations. This was duly transmitted to Wilhelmstrasse by Mr. Chamberlain, reaching there the day after receipt of the League Council's note saying no special favors could attend Germany's application for League membership." The next day the German Government notified France that it had every intention of joining the League in September. As Germany had already withdrawn the conditions originally attached to her request for admission, and had been given to understand that when admitted she would be given a place on the Council, the way seemed quite open to her admission. Difficulties, however, still stood in the path of the proposed security compact. Germany, although apparently quite willing to make a solemn pact with regard to her western frontier, was not ready to go so far with respect to her eastern one.

The German proposals were discussed fully by Chamberlain in his statement to the House of Commons on March 24, regarding the essentials of British policy. After some preliminary remarks he said:

I would outline the German suggestion as follows: Germany's interest is in the establishment of a special treaty foundation for a peaceful understanding with France. Germany is prepared to consider a comprehensive arbitration treaty and to enter into a mutual pact with the powers interested in the Rhine. Similar arbitration treaties may be concluded with other States which have common boundaries with Germany. If those States desire, a further pact universally guaranteeing the present territorial status on the Rhine would be acceptable to Germany and the pact may further guarantee fulfillment of Articles 42 and 43 of the Treaty of Versailles.

Such proposals amount, if I understand it rightly, to this: That Germany is prepared to guarantee voluntarily what hitherto she has accepted only under compulsion of the treaty—the status quo in the west—and that she is preparing to eliminate war, not merely from the west, but from the east, as an engine by which any alteration in that treaty position is to be obtained. * * * In suggesting arbitration in the east she does not propose or suggest that the eastern frontiers should become the subject of such treaties of arbitration. She is prepared to say that she renounces the idea of recourse to war to change the frontiers in the east, but she is not prepared to say in regard to those frontiers that she renounces hope some day to modify some of their provisions by friendly negotiations, by diplomatic procedure, or, it may be for aught I know, by the good offices of the League of Nations. * * *

No country has a profounder interest in stabilizing peace or in promoting good relations with her great neighbor, Germany, than Poland, and no impartial person who can judge Germany's interest with a clear mind, unclouded by prejudice or passion, can fail to see that Germany can gain no real advantage and no additional security by attacking her eastern neighbor.

The next day, March 25, the French Ambassador, Fleuriau, returned to London from a trip to Paris with instructions to inform Great Britain that France could accept a peace compact including Germany only upon the following conditions:

First—That beforehand there be a satisfactory settlement of German defaults on the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles.

Second—That there be no implication in any plan to revise any part of the Treaty of Versailles.

Third—That Germany join the League, accepting the common obligations of the covenant.

German dispatches of the next few days announced Germany unyielding on the question of her eastern frontier. A Paris dispatch on March 28, however, stated:

Germany has put the issue of a security compact squarely up to France in a manner calling for an official indication of French intentions.

It is learned that last week the Quai d'Orsay received from Wilhelmstrasse a formal note containing the German answers to questions the French had put through the English, who

up to the sending of this note had conducted practically all the recent negotiations with the Reich. The German note has the effect of pushing France out of her passive position of waiting on Berlin and London developments.

Germany reaffirms acceptances of Articles 42, 43 and 44 of the Treaty of Versailles establishing military neutralization of the Rhineland, and as for her eastern frontiers, she makes the point that they are not in question in a treaty respecting the western frontier.

The French Government was warned unofficially on April 1 that Germany had under consideration the suggestion, made by certain German jurists, that if according to Articles 42, 43 and 44 of the Treaty of Versailles, there were incorporated in the proposed Allied-Germany security compact a provision that along the Rhine there should be a neutralized zone which the Germans could not pass to attack France without committing a hostile act against other signatories of the treaty—namely, England—France should also be prohibited from crossing the neutral zone.

THE PROPOSED ARMS PARLEY

During the long discussions regarding the Geneva Protocol and the Security Compact with Germany, President Coolidge and Secretary of State Kellogg have been sounding the Chancelleries regarding their attitude toward another arms parley. According to a Washington dispatch of March 24, President Coolidge requested Secretary Kellogg "to look thoroughly into the feasibility of calling a new naval limitation conference in Washington." It was stated in Administration quarters that the President would like to call such a conference if the interested naval powers were all agreeable and provided it could be held with some prospect of successful achievement. Senator Borah, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on March 31 expressed the opinion that France would accept an invitation to attend if the other large nations decided to do so. He said that all nations ought to welcome such a conference in order to effect reductions and bring about sound economic conditions.

From Foreign Periodicals

Ex-Emperor's Betrayal by Horthy

FROM LE CORRESPONDANT, PARIS, MARCH 10, 1925.

UNDER an assumed name a writer in this magazine gives what is claimed to be the first authentic account of the attempt of the late Emperor Charles of Austria to regain his throne. The story is based on a book recently published in Munich, which owes its appearance to Baron Werkmann, former chief of the Press Service at the Austrian General Headquarters and a close adviser to the late monarch. Some of the chapters were dictated by the Emperor himself shortly before his death.

The ex-Emperor, according to this account, left his residence at Prangins, on the Lake of Geneva, on Good Friday, March 24, 1921, and after passing the French frontier reached Strassburg in the middle of the night. There the railway station was dark; the cold intense, so that no one noticed two young men who were pacing up and down the platform, with the high collars of their overcoats turned up and over their faces. They were waiting for the Paris-Vienna express. When the train arrived a young man descended from the sleeping car and met the two waiting gentlemen, who carried their own luggage. All three got on the train. When the conductor entered the sleeper to examine passports those of the occupants of Compartments 11 and 12 were found to be in perfect order. The passenger coming from Paris gave his name as Count Jacques de Lasuen, a Spanish subject and an old acquaintance of the ex-Emperor, whom he had not seen since 1914. At Salsburg, on the Austrian frontier, the police did not examine the ex-Emperor's passport, in addition to which he had a paper accrediting him to an American relief mission in Vienna. Arriving there at night, he proceeded in a taxicab to the house of Count Erdoedy, an old friend of his. On the following day Charles traversed his former capital in an automobile. Three hours later he reached the Hungarian frontier, where another automobile was waiting for him, and at 10 o'clock that night he reached the Archbishop's Palace, at Stein-am-Anger, where the Archbishop, Count Mikes, was entertaining the Minister of Public Instruction. Count Erdoedy, who was a nephew to the Archbishop, took the ex-Emperor into the study and brought his uncle in. At 2 o'clock in the morning

Premier Teleki, who happened to be close by at the residence of Count Sigray, was sent for and reached Stein-am-Anger at 4 o'clock in the morning. Teleki advised the Emperor that he should either go straight to Budapest or return immediately to Switzerland. Charles decided to go to Budapest. Here he met the Regent Horthy, who received his former chief in the imperial study room and refused to hand over the Government to him unless the Emperor made him a Duke and a Generalissimo, appointed him Premier and conferred on him the Grand Cross of the Golden Fleece and the Grand Cross of Maria-Theresa, the two highest Hungarian decorations. The Emperor acceded to all the wishes of his former subordinate. Horthy, nevertheless, refused to hand over the reins of government, and then, calling together his friends, decided to get rid of the ex-Emperor. Civil war was imminent, and the only thing left for Charles to do was to depart for his new exile, which he did. Horthy had betrayed him.

Italy's Army Within an Army

FROM RIVISTA D'ITALIA, MILAN, JANUARY, 1925.

REVIEWING conditions in Italy, E. Ciccotti expresses his doubts and fears for the future. After referring to the hybrid coalition which has begun a bitter opposition to the Government, he points out that the Voluntary National Militia, which is an army within the army, has not been mustered out, and that, on the contrary, it is being reorganized under the supervision of some of the most distinguished officers of the regular army.

Italy's Defense Needs

FROM LA RASSEGNA ITALIANA, ROME, JANUARY, 1925.

IN an article signed Wolfder, the writer argues that Italy must increase her war budget in order to improve her army. Before the war, it is pointed out, a military establishment of 275,000, under 14,500 officers, constituted the regular army. The cost per man was 1,375 lire per annum, that for the average officer 18,900 lire. At the present time the cost per officer remains approximately the same, while the cost per man has been raised to 3,400 lire per annum. This was why the peace strength of the army was reduced to 204,000 men in the budget of 1923-24, which provided a sum of 457,000,000 lire (\$24,000,-

000, approximately). This amount is insufficient, in view of the necessity of improving the education of the troops and providing more training grounds. Infantry alone must have a peace-time strength of 180 battalions of at least 500 men each, or a total of 90,000 men. With an additional 160,000 men necessary for the other arms, the total reaches 250,000 men to constitute an adequate peace army.

Plight of the Wrangelists

FROM KRASNAIA NIVA, MOSCOW, JAN. 11, 1925.

IN this old popular Russian weekly, one of the few which the Soviet Government took over and now publishes under a red imprint, we read the following account by D. Mallory of the trials of the Wrangelists interned in Bulgaria after the débâcle of the last White offensive against Bolshevism: "Almost daily, in small boats, or escaping past the frontier, or stealing a passage on a steamer, or using any means at all, they leave, headed for the shores of Soviet Russia. From Generals to privates, from ex-aristocrats to Cossacks, they leave for their native shores, abandoning behind them the coast of inhospitable Fascist Bulgaria. In their camps on the Black Sea shore, under the watch of gendarmes, they live, Summer and Winter, in the towns of Bulgaria. On one side they have the mountains, on the other the sea. Bulgarian watchfulness is due to the fact that most of these Wrangelists want to return to Soviet Russia. Those that are willing to act as policemen for Tsankov, those who are willing to serve Bulgarian Fascism, are left free and unmolested. The lot of the other unfortunates is hard, indeed, a thing which accounts for their mass conversion to Bolshevism. What wonder, therefore, that from these Wrangelist camps so many flee to return to Russia? Those that come tell the story of the sufferings of the Cossacks still remaining in Bulgaria and in Gallipoli. And all the time, by tens and hundreds, these people flee the hospitality of Tsankov to come to their 'new' Russia."

The Franco-German Issue

FROM DIE NEUE RUNDSCHAU, BERLIN, JANUARY, 1925

SAMUEL SAENGER, reviewing conditions in Europe, states that, to counterbalance the French Continental bloc, a new alliance is already being formed by Italy, Yugoslavia and Rumania. Europe is thus again drifting into a blind alley, out of which there is only one way—namely, a rapprochement between Germany and France. A Franco-German un-

derstanding should be so arranged as to solve the great economic difficulties that arise from the present commercial and business competition among the different States of Europe. "Instead of hypertrophied industries producing the same articles and reaching for the same markets (a condition existing today in the Danube States), there will be cooperation and a rational rearrangement of industries. Instead of badly drawn customs barriers, we shall have their entire elimination." The great Anglo-Saxon countries should hasten this arrangement by taking up the second part of the debt regulation (the first being that affecting Germany), which consists of the liquidation of the amounts France owes to them.

A French Peace Plan

FROM LA REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, PARIS, MARCH 15, 1925.

RENE PINON, writing in this French Nationalist magazine, states that such a pact as that suggested by Lord Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain, in which Germany would be included on a footing of equality, does not inspire any confidence. Germany, to begin with, would not enter this pact without some compensation for her sacrifices. No matter how limited the territorial sacrifices to which Poland might consent in favor of Germany, they would irremediably shake the stability of Eastern Europe. A much better plan would be, first, an alliance between France, Great Britain and Belgium, Italy being invited to join this alliance within the limits corresponding to her needs. France, on the other hand, would strengthen her pacts or alliances with the States of the Little Entente and Poland, and would see to it that Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary and Austria were included in the new alliance. Once Germany disarmed, it would be easy to proceed with the negotiation of Treaties of Arbitration and Commerce.

A German View of French Security

FROM EUROPÄISCHE GESPRÄCHE, HAMBURG, FEBRUARY, 1925.

COUNT MAX MONTGELAS, the well-known writer on Franco-German relations, explains in a striking article that the fears of France regarding the insecurity of her frontier have no foundation, since Germany is in no way able to attack them. He bases his contention on the Versailles Treaty and on the different agreements that followed it, and closes with the following seven points: (1)

Germany, having been forced to retain the 1919 model as regards her armament, her weapons will become more and more antiquated, while France and her allies will keep on modernizing their equipment; (2) Germany's eastern frontier has been stripped of all fortifications; (3) the ban on all German military and private aviation is much more severe than what was originally planned by Articles 198 and 210 of the treaty; (4) the military control of the League of Nations is so harsh that it almost conflicts with the idea of German sovereignty; (5) the alliances of France with Belgium, Poland and Czechoslo-

vakia are in full effect; (6) the entire net of German railroads has been placed, through the Dawes plan, under international supervision, so that any military mobilization by rail is from now on out of the question; (7) in addition to the daily increasing black army of the French colonies, General Nollet has worked out a plan whereby in the next French mobilization not only every man but also every woman in France will be mobilized, either in hospitals or in munition factories, or even in the army. From all this, Count Montgelas concludes, it becomes clear that France need fear no attack from Germany.

Deaths of Persons of Prominence

PRINCE GEORGIY EVGENIEVITCH LYOV, Russian statesman and Prime Minister in 1917 of the first and second Provisional Russian Governments, at Paris, France, March 6, aged 61.

DR. SUN YAT-SEN, South China leader and known as the "Father of the Chinese Republic," at Peking, March 12, aged 58.

WALTER CAMP, American physical culture exponent and originator of the "daily dozen" exercise, at New York, N. Y., March 14, aged 65.

VISCOUNT GORO MIURA, Japanese statesman and former Minister of War, at Atami, Japan, on March 16, aged 79.

PROFESSOR AUGUST VON WASSERMAN, German pathologist, at Berlin, on March 16, aged 59. Professor Wasserman originated the blood test method known by his name.

MARQUIS CURZON OF KEDLESTON (George Nathaniel Curzon), British statesman and Lord President of the Council, at London, on March 20, aged 64.

GENERAL HENRY SEYMOUR RAWLINSON (First Baron Rawlinson of Trent), Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in India since 1920, at Delhi, India, on March 27, aged 63.

JOHN JACOB ROGERS, member of the House of Representatives from Massachusetts, at Washington, D. C., on March 29, aged 43.

DR. RUDOLF STEINER, Austrian theosophist

and philosopher, at Berne, Switzerland, on March 30, aged 63.

JEAN DE RESZKE, celebrated operatic tenor, at Nice, France, on April 3, aged 75.

DR. JOHN H. HARRIS, American educator and President of Bucknell University, 1889-1919, at Scranton, Pa., on April 4, aged 78.

FORMER PATRIARCH TIKHON of Russia, officially known, subsequent to his deposition from office, by the All-Russian Church Council in 1923, as Citizen Vassili Ivanovitch Belavin, at Donskoy Monastery, near Moscow, on April 8, aged 72.

ROBERT McKEOWN, Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of Commerce in the Government of Northern Ireland, at Belfast, Ireland, on April 9, aged 55.

AGUSTIN DE ITURBIDE, grandson of Agustin de Iturbide, Emperor of Mexico in 1810, and adopted son of the former Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, who ruled from 1863 until his dethronement and execution in 1867, in Washington, D. C., March 3, aged 60.

JOSEPH VALLOT, founder and director of Mont Blanc Observatory, at Nice, France, on April 11, aged 71.

WILLIAM ELLSWORTH GLASSCOCK, Governor of West Virginia, 1909-13, and a leading Republican politician, at Morgantown, W. Va., on April 12, aged 62.



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Current History Chronicles

A TRIBUTE to Woodrow Wilson, unique in its force and simplicity, and written by **George P. Fishburne**, lawyer, of Tacoma, Wash., recently appeared in Washington Democracy, a small Democratic monthly, published in Seattle. A copy of this sketch has reached the Editor, who believed it worth reproduction:

Romain Rolland in "Jean-Christophe" likens a man's life to a river rising in some remote and unknown place, flowing now swiftly, now slowly, finally emptying into the sea of eternity.

It is difficult to estimate the effect of one's origin and early beginnings on the ultimate course of his life. We believe that in the case of Woodrow Wilson the effect of his birthplace and early youth was marked. He was born in 1856 at Staunton, a small country town in Virginia. He attended Davidson's College at Davidson, N. C., 1874-75, graduated in law at the University of Virginia in 1881, was at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Md., from 1883 to 1886, getting his Ph. D. there in 1886.

The formative years of his life were spent chiefly in the South in the reconstruction period. It is one of Fate's ironies that the South's golden age, the reconstruction period, was its goldless age. The Civil War wiped out practically all the property, the capital in the South, and reduced master and servant to the same level. So through force of circumstances men had to be judged not by what they had but by what they were. They were so stripped of all the artificial trappings of wealth and rank that it was possible to make the acid test alluded to by Carlyle in his Sartor Resartus, of finding out people's true worth when they are clotheless. So for the fifty years immediately succeeding the Civil War there never was a country where character, education, culture, true worth and idealism ranked so high, nor where wealth played such a small part. It illustrated the truth that the only victor in war is the vanquished. The spark of the Wilsonian idealism was created there, and it "refused to be quenched until death."

The striking characteristic of Wilson, like Lincoln, was his ability to penetrate through the encircling darkness of politics and intrigue and read the thoughts of the mute and inglorious multitude in the distance.

After reading these thoughts he translated them into words and then finally translated these words into laws at home and policies abroad. Thus Wilson, by remedial legislation, benefited labor by the eight-hour day and the creation of the Secretary of Labor, the farmer by the Rural Credits law, the banker by the Federal Reserve act and all of us by the income tax. He formulated into words the great American doctrine, permanent peace. And this great doctrine won on the field of battle under the leadership of Marshal Foch, won on the field of diplomacy under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson, lost in the United States Senate. Woodrow Wilson was a Napoleon of peace who met his Waterloo in the Senate of his own country.

There are two sorts of eloquence—word eloquence and thought eloquence. Word eloquence perishes in the utterance. Thought eloquence, though born of human expression, hath a life eternal. We are mourning today the world's greatest master of thought eloquence.

J. T. Hull of Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, Associate Editor of The Grain Growers' Guide, a

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Contemporary History and Biography

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN IDEALISM.
By Gustavus Myers. New York: Boni & Liveright. \$3.

Unless the signs are misleading, Mr. Myers's new book promises to be one of the most widely read and most keenly discussed books of the year. The author of a series of works "showing the evils imposed upon American life by organizations, groups and particular classes," Mr. Myers in this volume turns to the brighter side of history and in a series of well documented chapters, displaying all his best qualities of research and narrative skill, describes the different idealistic enterprises which the American people have successively undertaken the establishment of religious liberty—the abolition of monarchy, the overthrow of aristocracy, the breaking up of the monopoly in education, the abolition of chattel slavery, the democratization of culture and art, and the spread of the democratic spirit and principle into all spheres of life. Only one task remains for American idealism to accomplish—the control of "cunning, greed and the misuse of economic power." Mr. Myers believes that "just as the American people have solved other great questions without impairing their own individuality, so undoubtedly will they find for difficult economic problems a solution which will be in harmony with the unconquerable American individual spirit. In other words, the remedy will not be borrowed by transplantation, but will be natively developed, and for that reason the process will perhaps take longer."

LENIN. By Leon Trotsky. Authorized Translation. New York: Minton, Balch & Co. \$2.50.

What Trotsky has to tell us about Lenin is obviously of so great importance that this book will at once take its place among the essential documents for the study of the Russian revolution. Since Trotsky is a writer of great power and brilliance, his work has also a literary quality that makes it a most readable work. In the first part of the work Trotsky describes Lenin's work as a revolutionary propagandist in the days when *Iskra* (The Spark) was being published. The two men were associated for a short time at this period, but went different ways in 1903, when the split between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks took place. Then follows the largest section of the book, which is devoted to the doings of October, 1917. Finally, Trotsky's impressions of Lenin, the man, bring the book to an end, with the conclusion in which, writing after Lenin's death, Trotsky uses

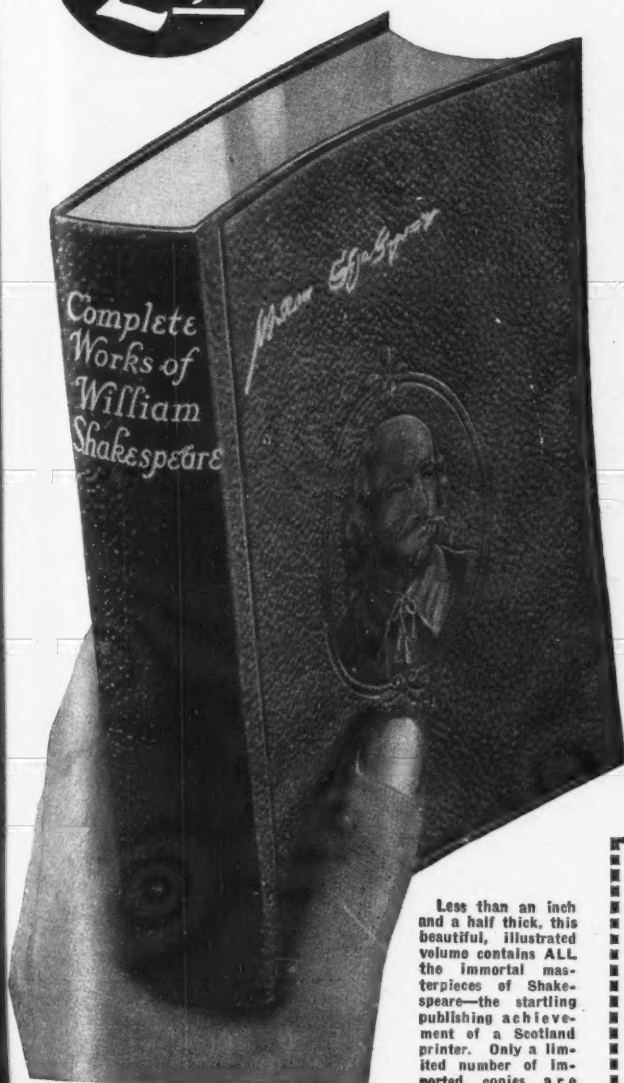
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Current History Chronicles

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Canadian agricultural publication, takes exception to a number of statements contained in Frank Bohn's article, "The Conflict Between the East and West in Canada," which appeared in February CURRENT HISTORY. Declaring the article to contain some "serious errors of fact," Mr. Hull writes:

In referring to the Hudson Bay Railway Mr. Bohn says that "the project might have been completed by the expenditure of only \$1,000,000 more." The Hudson Bay route could not be completed for this amount; the lowest figure that has been given as an estimate for the completion of this work is \$4,000,000. On the same page Mr. Bohn refers to "Calgary, the capital of Alberta." The capital of Alberta is Edmonton.

On page 686 Mr. Bohn says that the membership of the Canadian Senate is 100. The membership of the Senate is 96. He further states that membership in the Senate "by custom and not according to constitutional provisions" is divided among the provinces according to population. The membership in the Senate is based on the division of Canada into four sections, namely: Quebec, Ontario, the Maritime Provinces (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island) and the West (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia). Each one of the divisions is given representation of 24 in the Senate and this is a constitutional provision. Mr. Bohn also has something to say about a new Senator leaving his provincial home in the far west and living for 20 or 40 years in Ottawa. Senators, according to the Constitution must reside in the province which they represent. Senators attend the Parliament at Ottawa when the Parliament is in session and the Senate does not sit when the House of Commons is not sitting.

On page 688 Mr. Bohn refers to Mr. McNab as Premier of Saskatchewan. The Premier of Saskatchewan is the Hon. Charles A. Dunning and he has occupied that position since 1922. Mr. Bohn next quotes a resolution from the Saskatchewan Government which he makes read in this wise: "The people of Saskatchewan resent the action of the Senate so strongly as to demand a change in the Constitution placing the Senate under control of the Commons in Great Britain." The resolution actually reads: "Placing the Senate under control of the Commons to the same extent as the House of Lords is under control of the Commons in Great Britain." The people of this country are not thinking of going back to colonial days.

On the same page Mr. Bohn says "The Western Canadian population is made up approximately as follows: Americans 40 per cent.; Canadians (English speaking and French) 30 per cent.; British 20 per cent. and Continental Europeans 10 per cent." I take it that this refers to the three prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta as in the first paragraph of his article he states that "the West contains 2,000,000 people." The population of these three provinces by the census of 1921 was 1,956,082. Of this population 59 per cent. are Canadian born, 16 per cent. British born, and 25 per cent. foreign born, which will include Americans. You will thus notice that the population of these provinces is 75 per cent. native Canadian or British born. * * *

Mr. Hull's letter was referred to Mr. Bohn, whose reply follows:

Specifically, I was wrong to say that Calgary is the Capital of Alberta. The Capitol Building is actually in Edmonton, although Calgary is the industrial, commercial and financial capital. Also, upon looking the matter up I find that the

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Continued from Page Preceding Last

Senate is composed of 96 members instead of 100. As to the distribution of the Senators my statement is correct. My critic forces a point to draw from it exactly the opposite meaning from what I intended to give. At present the representation of the provinces is not necessarily according to population, but succeeding Governments try to keep the numbers balanced "in a rough way."

As to the American population in Western Canada, I included, of course, the children of recent immigrants. We here in referring to the numbers of Italians in Stamford, Connecticut, for instance, would include their children born here as well as the immigrants themselves. Now as to the actual numbers. Exactly 1,417,860 Americans have settled in Canada from 1900 to 1923. For a number of years our emigration of western farmers to those three western provinces ran over 100,000 a year. Probably one-third at least of the 1,160,669 described as "Canadian-born persons" are born of American parents. The percentages as I gave them were taken from an authentic source in Western Canada.

It might be well for us all to remember that the present situation in Canada has aroused a degree of bitterness and back-biting between Conservatives and Progressives, between high tariff East and low tariff West, which is beyond anything we have had in this country since the campaign of 1896. Meanwhile the Canadians are struggling to do the impossible—to build a nation which is practically independent of both Britain and the United States. Their geography and their economic position are against them.

Dr. Robert R. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, writes to report a marked decrease in lynchings in America during the past year. His letter follows:

According to figures compiled by Tuskegee Institute in the Department of Records and Research, there were sixteen persons lynched in 1924. This is the smallest number lynched in any year since records of lynchings have been kept, and is seventeen less than the number—thirty-three—for the year 1923 and forty-one less than the number—fifty-seven—for the year 1922. Nine of the persons lynched were taken from the hands of the law, six from jails and three from officers of the law outside of jails.

There were forty-five instances in which officers of the law prevented lynchings. Two women, one white and one colored, were among those thus saved. Eight of these preventions of lynchings were in Northern States and thirty-seven in Southern States. In thirty-six of the cases the prisoners were removed or the guards augmented or other precautions taken. In nine other instances armed force was used to repel the would-be lynchers. In four instances during the year persons charged with being connected with lynching mobs were indicted. Of the nineteen persons thus before the courts only five were convicted. These were given jail sentences.

Of the sixteen persons lynched, all were negroes. Seven, or less than one-half of those put to death, were charged with rape or attempted rape.

The offenses charged were: Murder, 1; rape, 5; attempted rape, 2; killing officer of the law, 2; insulting woman, 3; attacking woman, 1; killing man in altercation, 1; wounding man, 1.

The States in which lynchings occurred and the number in each State are as follows: Florida, 5; Georgia, 2; Illinois, 1; Kentucky, 1; Louisiana, 1; Mississippi, 2; Missouri, 1; South Carolina, 1; Tennessee, 1; Texas, 1.

* * *

Correction—In the article, "The True Situation in the Balkans," the word "land" should be read in place of "law" in the eleventh line of the first column on page 79.

The World Sweep of 650,000 Pelmanists



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SARAH FIELD
SPLINT

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Division of Home
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PELMANISM has made a record of 650,000 successes, both in England and in America. No new idea has ever had such a thorough testing.

Pelmanism is not a theory but a practice. For twenty years it has been teaching people how to develop and strengthen their known powers and how to discover and train their latent mental abilities.

Pelmanism develops individual (mark that) mentality to its highest power. It recognizes the interdependence of all mental faculties and trains them together. It corrects bad habits, and emphasizes the importance of personality and character in the development of mental activity.

Pelmanism gives the mind a gymnasium to work in. It prescribes the training scientifically and skilled educators superintend the work.

The Art of "Get There"

Science is the knowledge of truth. Pelmanism, the science, teaches the art of "Getting there" quickly, surely, finely, not just for men, but for women.

Woman in the home as well as in business has her ambitions and her perplexities. Followed honestly, Pelmanism will help solve woman's problems and aid her to realize her ambitions.

America needs Pelmanism as much as England needed it. There are too many men who are "old at forty"; too many people who complain about their "luck" when they fail; too many people without ambition or who have "lost their nerve"; too many "job towards" living under the daily fear of being "fired."

Increased Incomes

Talk of quick and large salary increases suggests quackery, but in London, at Pelman House, I saw bundles of letters telling how Pelmanism had increased earning capacity from 20 to 200 per cent. And why not? Increased efficiency is worth more money.

But Pelmanism is bigger than that. After all, life is for living. Money is merely an aid to that end. Money without capacity for enjoyment is worthless. Pelmanism makes for a richer, more wholesome and more interesting life.

Too many people are mentally lopsided, knowing just one thing, or taking interest in only one thing. Of all living creatures they are the most deadly. The emphasis of Pelmanism is on a complete personality. It does away with lopsided developments. It points the way to cultural values as well as to material success. It opens the window of the mind to the voices of the world; it puts the stored wealth of memory at the service of the tongue; it burns away the stupid diffidences by developing self-realization and self-expression.

Your Unsuspected Self

How Pelmanism Brings the Hidden, Sleeping Qualities Into Full Development and Dynamic Action

ARE you the man or woman you ought to be? Beneath the Self of which you are conscious there is hidden an unsuspected Self, a thing of sleeping strength and infinite possibilities. That Self is the man or woman you ought to be.

It is this unsuspected Self that occasionally rises uppermost in some crisis of life and makes you go in and win. And then you say, wonderingly: "How strange! I didn't think I had it in me."

Let that Self be always uppermost. Resolve to be always the man you ought to be!

Clearing the Fog

The minds of many men are veiled by a fog of misunderstanding. They think in a circle, haphazardly—vaguely. They wander in the twilight of doubt. Pelmanism clears the fog. It changes doubt to certainty, misdirection to direction, guessing to knowledge.

Whether you measure Pelmanism by the standards of practical cash-bringing results, increased mental and moral strength, or everyday happiness, it cannot fail to satisfy you.

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"Scientific Mind Training" is the name of the booklet which describes Pelmanism down to the last detail. In its pages will be found the comment and experience of men and women of every trade, profession and calling, telling how Pelmanism works—the observations of scientists with respect to such vital questions as age, sex and circumstance in their bearing on success—"stories from the life" and brilliant little essays on personality, opportunity, etc.—all drawn from facts. So great has been the demand that "Scientific Mind Training" has already gone into a third edition of 100,000.

Your copy is ready for you. Immediately upon receipt of your request it will be mailed to you absolutely free of charge and free of any obligation. No salesman will call upon you. Send for "Scientific Mind Training" now. Don't "put off." Fill in this coupon at once and mail it to

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He saw the handwriting on the wall. Men in his department were being dropped right and left.

He might have been the next to go but for a familiar coupon which he saw in a magazine. He tore it out, marked it, and mailed it to Scranton.

Then one day his employer called him in.

"Young man," he said, "I have just received a letter from the International Correspondence Schools telling me you have enrolled and have received a mark of 93 for your first lesson.

"I don't mind saying that this letter has saved your job. I had you on the list of men to be dropped. But I'm going to keep you now. And there are bigger things ahead of you. The man who thinks enough of his future to study his job is the kind of a man we want."

HOW about you? Are you sitting on the anxious bench wondering if you will be the next to go? Or are you training yourself so that you will not only be sure of your present job but will be ready for the job ahead? Your future depends on your answer.

This is all we ask: Without cost, without obligating yourself in any way, put it up to us to prove how we can help you. Just mark and mail this coupon.

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Contemporary History and Biography

Continued from Sixth Page Preceding

words which, in the light of his dispute with the Bolshevik rulers, assume a significant aspect: "Lenin is no more, but Leninism endures. The immortal in Lenin, his doctrine, his work, his method, his example, lives in us, lives in the party that he founded, lives in the first workmen's State whose head he was and which he guided.

* * * Our party is Leninism in practice, our party is the collective leader of the workers.

* * * How shall we continue? With the lamp of Leninism in our hands."

RECOLLECTIONS OF A HAPPY LIFE. By Maurice Francis Egan. New York: George H. Doran Company. \$4.

Having made his mark in the fields of both diplomacy and literature, Dr. Egan's memoirs are interesting for the many sidelights they throw upon American affairs. He was one of the many who succumbed early to the personal magnetism of Theodore Roosevelt, under whose Administration he served as Minister to Denmark. The following reference to Roosevelt's attitude on the death of McKinley may appear to some readers as a striking parallel to what President Coolidge may have felt on Nov. 5 last:

On the death of President McKinley, President Roosevelt, for the first time in his life a little startled and dismayed, took up the reins of Government. He felt it to be a great opportunity. In the beginning it was blemished by the fact that he was an "accidental" President. He had always wanted to be President, but not in this manner, and on the morning after his election he welcomed me with a warm handshake and said: "Thank Heaven, I am no longer an accidental President."

Continued on Third Page Following

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SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

ITS CAUSES AND HOW IT CAN BE CURED

By Robert W. Beatty

A SHORT time ago I was interviewing (on a matter of business) the President of one of the biggest business concerns in the Middle West. In the course of our talk there was a timid knock on the door. Responding to the President's, "Come in," the door was slowly opened, and a gray head came into view.

This gray head belonged to a man who (I learned later) had been employed by the firm for over thirty years. He took up a matter of business with the President, answering promptly every question put to him, but in a peculiarly timid manner. When he left the room, the President said to me:

"There's a beautiful example of a man gone wrong; I've always been as sweet as molasses to him, but he acts as if I were going to bite his head off. That man could easily earn \$20,000 a year; he could be one of the best known men in this part of the country; but he will never amount to anything because he is so confoundedly self-conscious."

"It's what's wrong with most people," he reflected. "They are too self-conscious. They are afraid of everything and anybody—yes, even of themselves. There isn't a man or woman living who cannot think thoughts worth fortunes. But they lack the spark of self-confidence which makes the difference between the DOER and the DREAMER."

"That man who was just in here really knows more about this business than I do. His judgment is better than mine. But he couldn't run this business for a month because he's so confoundedly busy thinking what others are saying or thinking about him, that he misses the main point of getting things for himself. I sympathize with him deeply, because when I was young I was very much that way myself. But I made myself get over it. I realized that all the ambition in the world—all the knowledge in the world—can't help a man if he is everlastingly apologetic, shy, self-conscious."

How true that comment is! Wherever you go, confidence almost always counts more than ability. The self-conscious man can never do himself justice. Before superiors in business he quails; with prospective customers he is vanquished by the first "No"; in the presence of strangers he retires into a shell; in the homes of cultured people he is embarrassed by the slightest word; and sometimes in the presence of one of the opposite sex, he makes the proverbial ass of himself.

But what can be done about Self-Consciousness? What is it? Can it be cured? James Alexander, an eminent English psychologist, in a remarkable work called "The Cure of Self-Consciousness," points out not only that it CAN be cured, but shows exactly HOW, no matter

how deep-rooted the trouble. The work is published in three convenient pocket size volumes.

Mr. Alexander analyzes the subject of self-consciousness in all its elements; he explains all the psychological causes of self-consciousness; he then analyzes different ways in which Self-Consciousness is exhibited. This enables the reader to analyze himself so that he may know what phase of self-consciousness to attack. In the other two volumes Mr. Alexander then gives definite exercises by which any or all of these phases of self-

How to Cure Shyness
How to Cure Bashfulness
How to Check Desires and Impulses
How to Attack Unwelcome Thoughts
How to Control the Muscles
How to Control the Emotions
How to Use Suggestion and Auto-Suggestion
How to Gain Self-Reliance
How to Gain Self-Confidence
How to Gain Calmness
How to Gain Self-Possession

Unlike many volumes, dealing with mental training, "The Cure of Self-Consciousness" is not dull or heavy. Neither is it full of platitudes or preachments, telling you why you should cure your self-consciousness. On the contrary, this great work is as interesting as a book of fiction, and as direct as a physician's advice. It is extremely easy to read and to understand. Instead of preachments, it contains *actual rules and exercises* that have cured even the worst forms of self-consciousness.

It is impossible here to give a complete description of all this work, "The Cure of Self-Consciousness," contains. There is only one way for you to convince yourself of its value to you: that is to examine the three pocket size volumes. *This the publishers are willing to have you do.* Send no money now, just the coupon. When the books arrive, pay the mailman only \$2.85, plus postage, and then read them 10 days at your leisure. If you are not convinced that this instruction and the exercises are worth hundreds of times the price, simply return the set within 10 days and the trial will not cost you a cent.

If you are ever embarrassed, in your business prospects or in your social life, by paralyzing attacks of self-consciousness, you need this great work more than anything else in the world; no price would be too great for you to pay for it! For how can a price be put upon the value of confidence, poise and perfect ease? If you want to secure a set I suggest that you address the publishers.

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consciousness may be permanently removed. A partial list of the chapter headings will give but a hint of the value of this work.

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tendency	class	capitalist	revolution
illustrate	energetic	administration	conspire
contraction	industrial	inspection	conference
theory	interest	problem	delegate
absolute	organization	commissioner	historical
dictator	department	naturally	consequence
political	creature	liberal	ideal
social	confiscate	aspiration	action
ethical	character	aristocracy	agitation
practical	person	element	imperial
ignore	demonstration	constellation	situation



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Everybody wants to be able to talk and read at least one foreign language—either for traveling abroad, or for business reasons. A revolutionary discovery now enables Americans to master French, Spanish or German with surprising ease. Get the FREE BOOK that gives you the most astonishing information ever published about learning languages in the only natural way in your own home.

IF SOMEBODY handed you a foreign newspaper and told you to read it at sight, you would probably say:

"Impossible! Why, I don't know a word of any language but English!"

Yet the amazing fact is that you do actually know hundreds of words of French, Spanish, and German—without realizing it. Hundreds, yes thousands, of words are almost identical in English and in the three principal foreign languages. Over 50 of them, printed in the panel above, were taken from a single American newspaper page.

What does this mean? Simply that you already have a start toward learning any language you choose, by the easiest, most efficient method ever devised.

This is the Pelman Method of Language Instruction—a wonderfully simple way of teaching that has been enthusiastically received in England and has just been brought to America. You learn in the simplest, most natural way imaginable—the way a child learns to speak his native tongue—without bothering about rules of grammar at all in the beginning.

First You Learn to Read the Language at Sight

Let us suppose, for example, that you have decided to learn French. (The Pelman method works just as simply with the other languages.)

When you open the first lesson of the Pelman method, you will be surprised to see not a single word of explanation in English. But you soon

realize that no English is necessary. You find that you already know enough French words to start—words that are almost the same in English—and that you can easily discover the meaning of the unfamiliar French words by the way they "fit in" with the ones you recognize at sight. Your interest is seized and held at once with all the fascination of a game.

In the places where it is necessary, you get the meaning of new words from little pictures of the things the words stand for—but the principle of using words you already know to teach you whole new sentences works so well that you literally read the course from beginning to end in French, and at sight.

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After only eight to twelve weeks you will be able to read books and newspapers in the language you have chosen—and, almost before you realize it, you will find yourself able to speak that language more fluently than students who have studied it for years in the toilsome "grammar-first" way.

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Contemporary History and Biography

Continued from Third Page Preceding

SOCIAL WORK IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY. By Stuart Alfred Queen, Ph. D. Philadelphia, Pa.: J. B. Lippincott Company.

CRIMINOLOGY. By Edwin H. Sutherland, Ph. D. Philadelphia, Pa.: J. B. Lippincott Company.

These two new volumes in the Lippincott Series in Sociology constitute interesting contributions to existing references on philanthropy and criminology. Dr. Queen discusses social work from its earliest inception and advances to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; the work is devoid of blatant sociological preachment and tells its story the more convincingly for its lack of propaganda. The ever-growing library on criminology is supplemented by much constructive suggestion in Dr. Sutherland's work; the author takes a progressive attitude on crime and calls for more intelligent treatment of criminals.

GOD OF MIGHT. By Elias Tobenkin. New York: Minton, Balch & Co. \$2.

Students of American social problems will find in this latest story from Mr. Tobenkin's pen a remarkably courageous, fair-minded and illuminating analysis of one of those questions which complicate American life—the question of the Jew who has come out of a European ghetto into another world with peculiarities and prejudices of its own—a small town in the Middle West of the United States. Mr. Tobenkin believes that the only solution of the Jewish problem in America is assimilation by the shedding of Jewish traditions and ideals. In other words, he holds that the Jew must cease to be a Jew. Whatever may be one's view on this highly controversial matter, Mr. Tobenkin has by stating the problem in his clear and vigorous fashion made a valuable contribution to the discussion of the subject.

THE ROAD TO WORLD PEACE: A Federation of Nations. By Oscar Newfang. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.

Tendencies toward world union, as developed gradually through the ages, are studied by Mr. Newfang in their relation to the possible finding of a basis for permanent peace. The author sees war largely as an outcome of acute nationalism. Though favoring the League of Nations, he considers this body only the nucleus of a vastly greater organization:

Four steps would develop the League of Nations into a federation of nations which would eliminate all the imperfections of the League as an organization for the maintenance of permanent international peace. These steps are (1) the addition to the Assembly of a second chamber whose members are apportioned according to population; (2) the adoption of majority rule instead of the rule of unanimity; (3) the gradual transfer of the armament of the member States to the control of the federation, and (4) the grant of compulsory jurisdiction to the Permanent Court of International Justice, its decisions to be enforced by the power of the federation.

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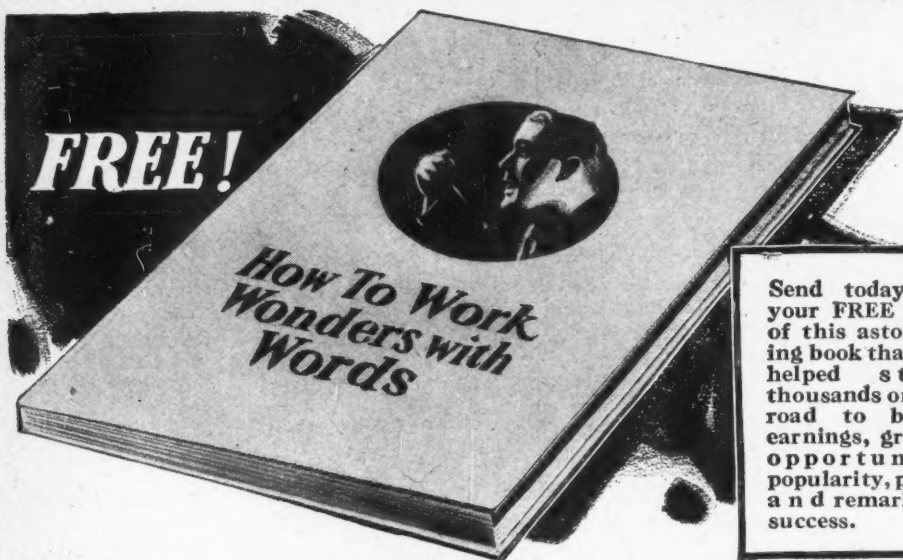
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Send today for your **FREE** copy of this astonishing book that has helped start thousands on the road to bigger earnings, greater opportunity, popularity, power and remarkable success.

Find the Secret that Has Made Men Rich!

What is the secret by which some men flash to the front and into important, high-salaried positions while men of even greater ability remain unnoticed. Thousands of instances indicate that frequently it lies in bringing out and developing a natural "knack" which 7 out of every 9 men possess unknowingly—the gift of powerful speech. Make a new and astonishing 5-minute test by which you can discover quickly whether you, too, possess this priceless "hidden knack."

You have often seen men surge suddenly to the front and into some big position at a high salary and people have said: "He's a lucky man!" Such things happen every day in business. But— they are not due to "luck." Often they are due to the fact that these men have discovered the natural gift of powerful speech. They developed the "knack" and used it to obtain the things they wanted—advancement in position and salary, popularity, standing, power, success.

LEADERS IN EVERY FIELD USUALLY ARE POWERFUL SPEAKERS

Investigation has shown that seven men out of every nine possess this hidden "knack" and do not know it. And those who do discover and develop it are frequently the great leaders in every field. They are able to dominate others, whether it be one man or an audience of thousands. Wherever you turn you will find these men fearlessly demanding what they want and getting it through the aid of forceful, convincing speech.

BECOME A POWERFUL SPEAKER THIS NEW WAY

There is little mystery about becoming a powerful speaker. Do it by this simple, easy method. It makes little difference whether you have had a college education or any previous vocal training, nor how embarrassed and self-conscious you now are when called upon to speak. By following certain scientific principles, certain definite rules, you can usually overcome and banish stage-fright, timidity, self-consciousness, bashfulness and fear and develop the ability to speak forcefully, fearlessly and with conviction. You, too, can become a leader of men and get what you want by the power of speech.

YOU BECOME A POWERFUL SPEAKER—OR PAY NOTHING

Thousands have found the road to real success through this simple, easy, quick training. We believe that you, too, will find

greater success through this training and your satisfaction is guaranteed. If you do not become a finished public speaker in a few short weeks, this training will not cost you a penny.

WHAT 15 MINUTES A DAY WILL SHOW YOU

How to address business meetings
How to propose and respond to toasts
How to make a political speech
How to tell entertaining stories
How to write better letters
How to enlarge your vocabulary
How to develop self-confidence
How to acquire a winning personality
How to strengthen your will power
How to be the master of any situation

ONLY 15 MINUTES A DAY

That is all—only 15 minutes of your spare time each day for a few weeks. You have only a few simple, easy-to-understand principles to master.

AMAZING 5-MINUTE TEST GIVES PROOF

Mail the coupon today and, in addition to sending you your copy of my famous book, "How to Work Wonders with Words," you will receive a new and most amazing 5-minute test by which you can prove for yourself whether you are one of the 7 men out of every 9 who possess the hidden "knack" of powerful speech. Just send your name and address—thousands have found this book and test to be the turning point in their lives. You must write at once.

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